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CONTENTS.

	Page.
Intercourse between Burma and Siam. Translated by Luang Phraison Salarak	1
Reports and Accounts of the Siam Society ...	*XV to XVIII*
Annual General Meetings of the Siam Society ...	*XIX to XX*

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BURMA AND SIAM.

As recorded in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi.

The following is the conclusion of the translation by Luang Phraison Salarak (Thien Subindu) of the history of the intercourse between Siam and Burma, as given in the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi of the Burmese. The previous instalment was given in Vol. XII, Part 2.

PREFACE.

The series of translations of such portions of the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi as relate to the intercourse between Burma and Siam come to an end with this number of the Society's Journal. The previous instalments are contained in Vol. V., Part 1.; Vol. VIII., Part 2; Vol. XI, Part 3; and Vol, XII, Part 2.

The translator hopes that he has, by these translations, rendered some service, however small, to those who aspire to reconstruct Siamese history, by supplementing what is already contained in the Phra Raj Phonsawadan, with information gathered from the records of neighbouring countries. If his hopes are realized, he will feel amply rewarded for the trouble he has taken in making the translation.

Mr. W. H. Mundie, M. A., has, with his usual kindness, looked over the proofs of this number as well as those of Vol. XII, Part 2, and made corrections where necessary; the translator begs to tender his sincere thanks to him.

LUANG PHRAISON SALARAK,
(Thien Subindu).

Bangkok.
July 25, 1919.

CONTENTS.

		Page.
I.	Accession of Bodawpaya to the throne of Burma. ...	1
	Burmese invasion of Arakan.	4
	Bodawpaya's invasion of Siam.	7
	Sir Arthur P. Phayre's account of the same.	22
II.	Introduction.	31
	Burmese invasion of northern Siam.	32
III.	Friendly intercourse between Burma and China. ...	36
	Siamese invasion of Tavoy and Mergui.	39
	Sir Arthur P. Phayre's account of the same.	52
IV.	Bodawpaya's endeavours to build the Min-gun pagoda.	55
	Burmese invasion of northern Siam.	56
	Siamese embassy to the Court of Burma.	59
	The death of the Crown Prince and the appointment of the deceased's son as Crown Prince.	59
	The death of King Bodawpaya.	60
	Accession of Bagyidaw to the throne; and the Burmese preparation to invade Burma.	61
	Arrival of envoys from the Mashakat Min of Yungyi country to the Court of Burma.	62
	The first Anglo-Burmese war.	64
Appendix I.	The story of Mahamuni.	I
Appendix II.	The bronze figures in the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.	VII
Appendix III.	Captain Henry Yule's account of the Min-gun pagoda and the Min-gun bell. ...	X

CORRIGENDA.

Page 13, the first word in the last line but one should be "probably".

Page 17, line 18, strike out one "to " in "to to give".

Page 33, line 9 from the bottom of text, for "Maya" read "Maha".

I.

TRANSLATION.

After having dethroned his two nephews and having put them to death without compunction, Badôn Min or Prince of Badôn, the fourth son of Alaung Mintayagyi, ascended the throne of Burma on Monday the 4th of waning Tabodwè 1143 (February A. D. 1782). He assumed many titles, the first that he took was Thiri Pawara Tilawka Pandita Maha Damayaza (Sīri pavara tiloka paṇḍita mahā dhammarājā). This title he subsequently amplified into Thiri Pawara Wizayanantayatha Tribawanaditayapati Pandita Maha Damayazadiyaza (Sīri pavara vijayānantayasa tribhavanādityādhipati paṇḍita mahā dhammarājādhirājā). When he had obtained his second white elephant, he took also the title of Sinbyumyashin, meaning master of many white elephants, and by this title he is usually called in the Hmannan history. On his demise, he was succeeded by his grandson, and in any reference made of him thereafter, he is generally called Bodaw Sinbyumyashin or Bodawpaya.* In ordinary conversation he is generally known as Bodawpaya, and Sir Arthur Phayre called him Bodoahprâ. For the sake of brevity it is better to call him Bodawpaya in this paper.

Before he came to the throne, Bodawpaya was practically a state prisoner, every movement, and even every word of his being closely watched and noted. Such a condition of life might have soured his temper somewhat and made him more distrustful than he would otherwise have been under more favourable conditions. Only twelve days after his accession to the throne, he executed his brother, Sitha Prince, for alleged conspiracy against him. Many nobles and officials were also put to death as being accomplices, and among them were the famous Wungyi Maha Thihathura and some of his sons.

Another conspiracy was started by one Nga Pôn[1] originally known as Ngá Shun, who represented that he was a son of Hanthawadi-yauk-min by a minor queen. He got a following of about 200 Shans and Burmans. On the night of the 13th of waning Thadingyut 1144 (October A.D. 1782), a few of his men

1 ดูพระราชพงษาวดารเล่ม ๓ น่า ๑๗๕ แลคำให้การชาวอังวะน่า ๑๗.

* Means Royal Grandfather.

scaled one of the gates on the southern wall of the city by means of ladders and opened the gate. The party got inside and they did the same with the inner gates leading to the palace enclosure. There was a sharp fight between the conspirators and the palace guards, but towards dawn the guards were reinforced by fresh arrivals, and the conspirators were overpowered. Nga Pón made his escape, but was captured the same evening. Many of his men were killed in the fight and a few were captured alive. The dead bodies were thrown into the river, while Nga Pôn and the rest of his followers were forthwith executed. The head gate-keeper of the gate by which the rebels got in was punished with death for his default. A few military officers were also punished likewise for failure to turn up in time and render assistance. Mention may be made here about the execution of a corporal and seven of his men, all foreigners, probably Portuguese or of Portuguese descent. They were gunners on duty in the palace enclosure on the night in question. Being overpowered and overawed by the conspirators, they were forced to train the guns on the palace and fire them. The reason given for their execution was that they aided the rebels.

The events immediately preceding his accession were those of strife and bloodshed, and soon after his accession there came the conspiracies. These facts might have preyed on the mind of King Bodawpaya and influenced him to think of making a move to a place where there would be more peace and quiet. Kings of Burma were also naturally inclined to build new cities, new palaces, new pagodas and monasteries, on coming to the throne. At any rate, King Bodawpaya decided to build a new city and a new palace. A site was soon selected higher up the Irawadi, and building operations commenced in Pyatho 1144 (January A. D. 1783). The new city was ready for the reception of the King by Nayôn 1145 (June A. D. 1783), when he moved to it with great ceremony. It was named Amarapura[2] by him.

On the 12th of waning second Wazo 1145 (July A. D. 1783),

[2] ดูพระราชพงษาวดารเล่ม ๓ น่า ๑๗๕ แลคำให้การชาวอังวะ น่า ๑๙.

King Bodawpaya celebrated the marriage of his daughter, Thiri Maha Tilawka Yadanadewi (Sīri mahā tiloka ratana mahādevī), Princess of Taungdwingyi, who was the second daughter of the Chief Queen, with his son Thado Damayaza, Prince of Shwedaung, who was the son of the Queen of the Northern Palace, next in order of precedence to the Chief Queen. The Prince was at the same time created "Einshe-min,"[3] that is heir apparent or Crown Prince. This action of King Bodawpaya was very inconsistent. Before he became King, he was very insistent on giving effect to the dying injunction of Alaung Mintayagyi that the latter's sons should succeed to the throne one after another in order of their seniority. Only a year and a half after he was raised to the throne, he appointed his son Crown Prince, in spite of the fact that his younger brother, Pindalè Min, was still alive.

On the 7th of waxing Wagaung 1146 (August A. D. 1784) a son was born to the Crown Prince and Princess. Being the eldest of his grand-children and, by the rank of his parents, having a right of precedence to succeed to the throne, King Bodawpaya was greatly overjoyed at the event and made much of this infant prospective heir to the throne. Sons and grandsons of ministers and nobles were chosen and assigned to the royal infant to be his playmates. The town of Sagaing was given to him to supply his pocket-money for sweetmeats, and from this fact he is subsequently known as Sagaing Min. It may be mentioned here that it was this grandson of Bodawpaya who succeeded him, his son the Crown Prince predeceasing him.

3 "Ainshêmeng (Einshe-min) is the modern title in Burma of the heir-apparent to the throne, and means literally "Lord of the eastern house." The office is similar to and is derived from that of the Yuva Râjà in the ancient Hindu kingdoms. In Burma, the heir-apparent to the throne, like Râma in the kingdom of his father, Dasaratha, is in some degree associated with the king in the government, and is *ex officio* commander-in-chief. The son or younger brother of the king generally fills this post, according to the pleasure of the sovereign. A somewhat similar position is held by the second or junior king in Siam, and also in Cambodia; and there are traces of the same arrangement in some of the Shân states. It is possible that the office of Shiogoon or Tycoon, in Japan, may have originated from the same model, but considerably altered by time and circumstances from the original."—Phayre's History of Burma, page 9, foot-note.

Without assigning any cause whatever, King Bodawpaya ordered the invasion of Yakaing or Arakan.[4] The army of invasion was composed of three divisions. Two of these, each consisting of 60 elephants, 600 horse, and 6,000 men, were commanded by two of his sons, while the main division consisting of 210 elephants, 2,100 horse, and 21,000 men, was commanded by the Maha Upayaza, who was also the commander-in-chief. It is not necessary to give here a full account of this invasion, but a few incidents may be mentioned. When all the outlying provinces had been captured, and the Burmese forces surrounded the capital, the Arakanese Upayaza, the King's brother-in-law, the ministers, and the nobles besought the King to present his daughter by the Chief Queen to His Majesty of Burma and ask to be allowed to reign as a tributary King. The King of Arakan replied that there never was a precedent, in the history of Arakan, of any of his predecessors having presented his children to the Kings of Burma, but that in the time of King Yazagyi of Arakan, the King of Taung-ngu (Toungoo) presented his daughter to King Yazagyi, together with 1,000 guns and the bronze figures cast in Yodaya and brought over from there as spoils of war. The descendants of that Burmese princess, the 1,000 guns, and the bronze figures were still in existence as evidence of the fact. If he were to present his daughter and submit to the sway of the Burmese Sovereign, the fact would be an everlasting record in the national history and it would be a blot on his name and a reproach to his illustrious ancestors. Further, he said that it was recorded in the Arakan chronicles that during the reign of Saw Mun Gyi, the Burmese invaded Arakan; and when it was found impossible to repel the invaders or defend the capital, King Saw Mun Gyi left Arakan, and went and resided in the town of Pasa in a foreign country to the west of Arakan. After twelve years of exile, he returned and again assumed sovereign authority. The King said he would rather follow the example of Saw Mun Gyi than be a disgrace to future generations. Accordingly he left the city in the middle of the night accompanied by his queens, his children, and a few attendants.

[4] ดูพระราชพงษาวดารเล่ม ๓ น่า ๓๗๕,๓๗๖ แต่ว่าให้การชาวยังวะ น่า ๓๙.

On the 8th of waning Pyatho 1146 (January A.D. 1785), the Burmese entered the capital and occupied it; and about eighteen days after, the King of Arakan and his family, who had been resting at a place about two days' journey from the capital, were captured and brought to the Burmese Upayaza.

News was sent by the Maha Upayaza to his father that Arakan had been conquered and the King and the royal family captured, and on the receipt of it, King Bodawpaya sent from the capital Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw to assume control of the conquered country, and recalled his son. Leaving behind an armed force of about 10,000 men with Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw to govern the country, the Maha Upayaza left the Arakanese capital on the 7th of waning Tabodwè (February).

He brought away the whole of the Arakanese royal family and the principal ministers, nobles, and military officers, and also many families of Brahman astrologers. Hmannan history says in one place that over 30,000 prisoners of war were brought over, and in another place 20,000; among them mention is made of 30 eunuchs. The most important spoil of war was the celebrated image of Buddha called Mahamuni.[5]

[5] The celebrated Mahāmuni Image, the Palladium of the Arakanese race. The image was removed to Amarapura from Mrohaung in Arakan in 1784 as a spoil of war, after the conquest of that country by the Burmese. At pages 44-45 of Phayre's History of Burma, the following description is given of it:—"In the year A. D. 146, a king called Chanda-Surya succeeded to the throne (of Arakan). In his reign, a metal image of Buddha was cast, and so famous did it become, that miraculous powers were attributed to it for ages afterwards. This image was carried away by the Burmese when they conquered Arakan in 1784. It is now in a temple to the north of Amarapura, and is an object of fervent devotion. It is probable that, in the reign of Chanda-Surya, Buddhism was more distinctly established than heretofore, and images of Buddha may then have been introduced for the first time."

The image is in the usual sitting posture, that is to say, with the legs folded under the body, and is placed on a masonry pedestal six feet ten inches in height. Its dimensions are :—

	Ft.	In.
Height	12	7
Round the waist	9	6
Round the arms	4	11
Breadth from shoulder to shoulder ...	6	1
Breadth at base	9	0

(Archæological Notes on Mandalay by Taw Sein Ko. pp. 17-18. See also appendix 1.)

Over thirty Siamese bronze figures referred to in the speech of the King of Arakan also formed part of the spoils. The Buddha image is now enshrined in the Arakan Pagoda near Mandalay, and six of the bronze figures[6] are still to be seen within the precincts of the pagoda. A big gun said to measure twenty cubits long and six cubits in circumference was also taken away. It is very probable that this huge gun was of Siamese origin and had migrated to Arakan in company with the bronze figures.

In Tabodwè 1146 (February A. D. 1785), King Bodawpaya obtained his second white elephant, the first one having been obtained in Nayôn 1146 (June A. D. 1784). He then assumed the title of Sinbyumyashin. Subsequently he got four more of these elephants held in high esteem by all the monarchs of India and Indo-China. The last one that was captured in Hanthawadi district was a particularly white animal, the whole body said to be as white as cotton wool, and it was believed to be the same as the "Chaddanta" species of mythical lore. Subsequent to this auspicious event he is often addressed or referred to as "Satdan Sinmin Thakin Sinbyumyashin" meaning "Lord of the chaddanta elephant and Master of many white elephants."

On the 13th of waxing first Wazo 1147 (July A. D. 1785) he executed Pindalè Min,[7] the youngest of his own brothers, for conspiracy against him. No mention is made of any evidence of the conspiracy justifying this execution, though Sir Arthur Phayre gives a very plausible one in his history of Burma. In fact, the record of this event occupies only two lines of print in the Hmannan history, whereas the capture of the particularly white elephant, its reception in the capital, and the ceremonies and festivities connected with conferring a name on it and its installation among His Majesty's royal possessions run into eleven pages. This shows how very little importance is attached to executions, even those of the members of the royal family.

6 For an account of them see Appendix II.

7 ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๑๘๖ แลคำให้การชาวอังวะ น่า ๒๐.

King Bodawpaya must have been elated with the conquest of Arakan which was so very easily and quickly effected, on account of the distracted condition of the country, owing to the frequent struggles for the throne by those who had royal blood in their veins as well as by those who had not. Probably he thought that Siam could be invaded and conquered quite as easily. It is very likely also that he wanted to add to his glory by further conquests, because he suddenly decided to invade Yodaya, for which no reason whatever is given in the Hmannan history.[8]

Ten regiments consisting of 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the command of Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw[9] were despatched by water on the 13th of waning Wazo 1147 (July A.D. 1785). The Mingyi was specially ordered to despatch from Hanthawadi to Byeik a flotilla of fifteen ships laden with munitions of war. Then he was to go on to Môttama, where he was to collect provisions and have everything necessary for the campaign in readiness for the march of His Majesty by way of Tayaik. Having made all these arrangements he was to go on with his forces to Byeik.

On the 15th of the following waning Tawthalin (September), another batch of ten regiments consisting also of 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the command of Nemyo Nawrata was sent to Dawè. Then a week later, a column of 29 regiments, consisting of 3,000 horse and 30,000 men under the command of Wungyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana, was ordered to march to Yodaya by way of Zinmè. In this column the following Shan Chiefs had to supply contingents of a regiment each, namely—the Sawbwas of Theinni, Monè, Kyaing-tôn, and Kyaing-chaing, and the Governors of Maingnyaung, Maing-seik, and Kyaing-taung. These Shan contingents were probably levied and picked up on the way.

One of King Bodawpaya's sons, Thado Minsaw, was ordered to take the command of 11 regiments containing 1,100 horse and

8 ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๑๘๗ ถึง ๒๓๐ แลคำให้การชาวอังวะ น่า ๒๐ ถึง ๒๒.

9 This Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw was probably the same man who was sent to Arakan to assume the administration of it. If he had been recalled, it must have been after a stay there of only about five months; but his recall is not mentioned in the Hmannan history.

11,000 men and proceed to Môttama. A regiment of Shans was supplied by the Sawbwa of Ban-maw. He left the capital on the 5th of waxing Thadingyut. Nine days later, Thiri Damayaza another son of the King, took the command of 12 regiments containing 1,200 horse and 12,000 men, and left the capital also bound for Môttama. The Sawbwas of Mogaung and Thibaw supplied the Shan contingents. On the 2nd of waxing Tazaungmôn, 11 regiments consisting of 1,100 horse and 11,000 men were despatched also to Môttama under the command of Myin Wun (Minister of cavalry force) Mingyi Maha Mingaung.

Then on the 10th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1147 (November A.D. 1785), King Bodawpaya left the capital with an army of 40 regiments containing 500 elephants, 5,000 horse, and 50,000 men, under his own command, with Mingyi Maha Thettawshe as "Tat-hmu" or chief staff officer, and Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin and Wundauk Nemyo Kyawzwa as "Sitkè" or assistants. In this column the Shan Chiefs who had to supply contingents of a regiment each were:—the Sawbwas of Momeik and Nyaung-ywe, and the Governors of Legya, Yauk-sauk, Maing-kaing, and Saga, and the Kyamaing (heir-apparent) of Legya. The Maha Upayaza was left in charge of the capital.

He travelled by land and passed through Taung-ngu, Shwegyin, and Sittaung. Wherever the army camped His Majesty was entertained with music and theatrical performances. In thirty-eight marches he reached Môttama, on the 4th of waning Nadaw (December). He found that sufficient provisions had not been collected and stored up at the different stages along the route he was to march to Yodaya. Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw who had been ordered to do this and who had gone on to Byeik, was ordered to be brought back to him under arrest. His Majesty sent Wungyi Maha Thiri Thihathu from his army to take over the command of Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw. He then dispatched a detachment of six regiments with Nawrata Kyawgaung in command to march to Yodaya via Ywahaing.

King Bodawpaya had been four days in Môttama, but the transfer of the elephants, horses, and men to the east bank of the Thanlwin river had not been completed yet. Annoyed at the delay he

summoned all his commanders and officers and asked them whether they thought their necks were protected with plates of steel to resist being beheaded for such dilatoriness. He said he would burn them alive, if the whole of the forces were not across the river that very day. All were so afraid that none dared offer any excuse and every one remained silent with their hands joined in the attitude of adoration. Then the Governor of Kaw-thanti, who was only a junior officer, mustered sufficient courage to tell His Majesty that in warfare certain operations had to be done with great despatch, and certain others with much caution and deliberation. If operations which required deliberation were carried out in a hurry, they might be miscarried, and if those that called for immediate action were delayed, success might not be attained. In this invasion of Siam by His Majesty by way of Tayaik, it had been arranged that four other columns should co-operate, from four different directions, namely, Zinmè, Ywahaing, Dawè, and Byeik. The King of Siam would no doubt have received information which way His Majesty would march, and he would certainly place his main army under his own command in the direction of Tayaik, to oppose the main invading army. Along the twenty or more marches in that direction, towns and villages from which provisions could be commandeered, were few and far between. Therefore, if the march via Tayaik were hastened, the provisioning of such a big army as His Majesty's would be a matter of great difficulty. All the provision they had then was what each man carried on his shoulders. If owing to want of provisions on the way they could neither go forward nor turn backward, the campaign would fail to achieve its object, as then the effect of the co-operation of the other four columns would not be felt and any success in those directions would be of no avail. It was very important that His Majesty should station himself at Mòttama until a suitable occasion and an opportune moment had arrived. Four bases were to be formed, the foremost was to be stationed at Bilauk, and at this post of honour, the forces under Minhla Kyawdin would be quartered; the next base farther back was to be at Alan, where the forces under Myin Wun Mingyi Maha Mingaung would be stationed; the base next to Alan was to be at Mitakit where Prince Thiri Damayaza would have his forces; and

the fourth base was to be at Paya-thônzu (three pagodas), where Prince Thado Minsaw would station himself with his forces. The advance bases should send out raiding parties of 500 to 600 men all over the neighbourhood, and these men should lay hold of anything useful for the Burmese army and destroy everything that would be of any use to the enemy. As for provisions, all that were available would be sent up by boats from Môttama to Mitakit base by the men in His Majesty's forces. From that base they would be sent on from one base to another, until they reached the foremost at Bilauk. The forces at Bilauk would then throw out an advance post at Daung Thabôn, whither the provisions would be carried and collected. The forces with His Majesty were to maintain themselves on the resources of Môttama and Pegu districts If the plan described above were carried out under the personal direction of His Majesty, the Siamese Monarch would concentrate the greater portion of his army in the direction of Tayaik and would not dare divide his army for operations elsewhere. Should it turn out as was believed it would, the main Siamese army would be held up at Tayaik, and the columns marching through Zinmè, Ywahaing, Dawè, and Byeik, meeting little or no opposition on the way and being able to obtain provisions easily, would certainly be successful in forcing their way to the Siamese capital. When information had been received that the other four columns were already approaching the capital, and as by that time provisions would have been adequately collected, His Majesty could make a forced march by covering two days' march in one, break down the resistance sure to be offered at Tayaik, and go straight on to the Siamese capital. The capture of it together with the King and the royal family would then be an easy affair, because all the other columns would have arrived also and would be able to co-operate fully.

For such a junior officer in the army, the plan of campaign mapped out by the Governor of Kaw-thanti must be considered very creditable, as it showed much foresight and comprehensiveness of view. He must have been an officer of no mean ability as is evidenced by the very able manner in which he had thought out his plan and laid it so clearly before His Majesty; and also of con-

siderable courage to be bold enough to speak when all the rest were silenced by the anger of their Sovereign.

Having listened to what the Governor of Kaw-thanti had to say, King Bodawpaya severely reprimanded his commanders and officers, saying that although he had honoured and rewarded them with high and responsible posts, such as charge of districts and towns, and commands of divisions and regiments, they failed him signally in the hour of need by having nothing to offer in the way of counsel or opinion and remaining quite silent. He asked them, perhaps sarcastically, whether they had not heard what the Governor of Kaw-thanti, a mere subaltern, had said what he thought should be done in the circumstances. If he had stopped with merely reprimanding them, it would have been well; but he was unable to control his anger and himself, and he let fly the spear he had in his hand into the midst of the crouching assembly of officers and courtiers. The spear struck and wounded Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin, the Sitkè-gyi or the first assistant staff officer in his own army. He then said he would march the very next day.

The anger of their Sovereign and the consequent flight of His Majesty's spear to find its lodgement in the body of a staff officer must have infused more life and energy into the commanders and officers. The transportation of the elephants, horses, and men, across the river was completed that very evening. The next day, His Majesty crossed over and joined the army. He started on his march to Yodaya the following day. In six marches he reached Mitakit, which, according to the Governor of Kaw-thanti, was to be the first base. He went on another march and encamped at a place called Kyunbin (teak tree), and stopped there for about a fortnight making arrangements for the commencement of the campaign. He ordered the making of many carts for the transport of provisions, and sent back Nemyo Zeya Kyawdin to Môttama to fetch all the provisions available there. He asked Mingyi Maha Mingaung who was in command of eleven regiments, and Minhla Kyawdin who led a regiment in the King's own forces, what provisions they had with them. These officers were aware how angry His Majesty was with Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw for failure to have a full supply of provisions and what sort of punishment awaited

him. Fearing another outburst of anger in His Majesty, and the flying spear launched from his royal hand still reminiscent in their minds, they told him that they had quite a month's supply, which must have been a distinct falsehood. They were then put in command of 21[10] regiments to which were added picked elephants, horses, and men drawn from His Majesty's own forces, and ordered to proceed in advance, the King saying he would have fresh supplies of provisions sent up before what they already had were exhausted.

The Governor of Kaw-thanti was appointed chief scouting officer, a fit reward for his ability. He was given a squadron of 100 horse and 200 infantry men, and ordered to go out scouting till he found where the Siamese army was encamped. Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin, who was wounded with His Majesty's spear, was ordered to station himself at Kyunbin and see that provisions sent up from below were duly and promptly forwarded to the front. Having made these arrangements, His Burman Majesty continued his march, on the 5th of waning Pyatho (January). At the next stage from Kyunbin, Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw, who had been ordered to be brought back from Byeik under arrest, arrived. He was then and there executed. In another march the King reached Paya-thônzu (three pagodas). Here he rested for a day, and then made two more marches, reaching a place called Alantè. He stopped here, and making many bamboo rafts, he had them laden with paddy and taken down Alantè stream.

The King of Siam requested his ministers to find out among the Burmans captured by the Siamese in some of the previous wars between the two nations, and held by them as prisoners of war, some one who was an adherent or retainer of the Monarch now invading Siam. A man by the name of

10 The statement about 21 regiments in the original is not very clear. Mingyi Maha Mingaung commanded 11 regiments right enough; but Minhla Kyawdin had only one regiment under him. Therefore there ought to be only 12 regiments between them. Very probably 10 regiments including Minhla Kyawdin's were detached from the King's army and Minhla Kyawdin put in command of them. It is not expressly stated so in the original, but the statement that additions of picked elephants, horses, and men drawn from His Majesty's army were made, probably means that 10 regiments were detached and formed into a separate command.

Nga Kan, who was formerly one of Bodawpaya's own retainers, was found. He was captured by the Siamese during the invasion led by Athi Wungyi Maha Thihathura in the year 1136 (A.D. 1764). Nga Kan was taken to the presence of His Siamese Majesty and questioned whether it was true that the Burmese King now invading Yodaya was his royal master. On Nga Kan replying that it was true, His Siamese Majesty gave him a letter to be carried to His Burman Majesty. In due course Nga Kan arrived at Alantè camp with the Siamese missive. It was translated into Burmese and found to convey His Siamese Majesty's request that there should be no enmity and no war between the two nations and that trade and commerce should continue between the two countries, thereby conferring peace and prosperity on the two peoples. His Burman Majesty said nothing on the contents of the letter, but questioned Nga Kan as to what arrangements the Siamese Monarch, his ministers, and nobles were making to defend their country. Nga Kan told His Majesty the following story:—That since the time His Burman Majesty arrived at Môttama, three Burmans were captured by the Karens of Kyaukkaung, and sent on to the capital. These men were questioned closely and they stated that Pakan Mingyi, referring to Wungyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana, was coming down through Zinmè with over 30,000 men; Kinwun Mingyi, referring to Mingyi Mingaung Kyaw, was marching from Byeik with over 30,000 men; Anaukpet Taik Wun, referring to Nemyo Nawrata Kyawdin, was to attack from Dawè also with over 30,000; and Nawrata Kyawgaung was sent to Ywahaung with the same number of men; that His Burman Majesty was marching with over 100,000 men by way of Tayaik. They said they belonged to the forces under the Prince of Sagu, referring to Prince Thiri Damayaza, who had twelve regiments under him. They were detailed to transport paddy by water from Môttama to the river lading at Zami. They went ashore for a while, and were captured by the Karens in the jungle to the east of Zami. It will be noticed that these men considerably exaggerated the numbers of the men which composed the several columns. They might have done this purposely, drobably to boast of the power and might of their Sovereign or perhaps to frighten the Siamese not to offer any resistance.

Further, Nga Kan told His Burman Majesty that when the Siamese Monarch received the above information from the three Burmans, he summoned the princes, ministers, and nobles and held a council to discuss what measures should be taken to repel this invasion of the Burmese, in five different directions with an army of over 200,000 men. The princes, ministers, and nobles were of opinion that this invasion was on a much larger scale than any of the previous ones, being conducted by the King himself, with forces almost amounting to 300,000 men; moreover, the invasion was from five different directions, and not only were the forces large in numbers in the direction of Tayaik by which way the Burmese King was marching, but the forces in the other four directions also exceeded 30,000 men each. They were in favour of diplomatic negotiation, instead of relying on their fighting strength and contending in arms. The King held a different opinion, saying their opinion was based solely on the numerical strength of the Burmese army. It was necessary to repel only the forces coming by way of Tayaik, because if they were repulsed and defeated there, the other four columns would have to withdraw. He did not think it was necessary to despatch forces to oppose those four other columns. He said he would himself march to Myitsôn (junction of two rivers), build a big and strong fort there, and repel the attack of the Burmese King. If the fight were favourable to the Siamese arms, the initial success would be pressed home till victory was obtained. If on the other hand, fortune favoured the Burmese, it would then be time to parley. The capital should be prepared for attack by mounting guns on the ramparts of the city. Even if the four columns forced their way to the capital, they would not be strong enough to capture it. Accordingly, he had a big fort built at Myitsôn, complete with moats, ramparts, barbacan, and other contrivances for the discomfiture and destruction of assaulting forces. Guns were mounted on the walls of the fort, and obstacles to prevent the approach of elephants, horses, and men, such as hurdles, bars, breast-works of earth, spikes, thorns, &c., were laid outside the walls. Then to the west of this fort, at a distance of about 2,000 "tas,"[11] he had smaller forts built over an area of 4,000 to 5,000

[11] One "ta" is seven cubits, and a cubit is about 20 English inches.

"tas" square. All the able-bodied and good fighting men in the whole country were called up; some were detailed to guard the capital and the rest sent to the forts at Myitsôn. The forces collected there to try conclusions with the main invading army numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 men. A force of about 20,000 or 30,000 men was also sent to Kanpuri to oppose any enemy forces that might turn up there. A fleet of eighty two-masted and three-masted ships[12] manned by "Kala Panthes" were kept in readiness near the sea to the south of the capital. His Siamese Majesty together with his queens and children left the capital and took up his quarters in the fort at Myitsôn.

The above information supplied by Nga Kan must have been very useful to the Burmese Monarch. King Bodawpaya now knew the strength of the Siamese forces at Myitsôn and at Kanpuri, He found that the 21 regiments which he had sent in advance, and which, according to the usual formation of Burmese regiments, would contain only 2,100 horse and 21,000 men, were insufficient to attack or to defend against a force 50,000 strong. So, apparently acting on Nga Kan's information, he immediately despatched a reinforcement of twelve regiments, six under Prince Thiri Damayaza with Nemyo Thinkaya as Sitkè, and six under Prince Thado Minsaw with Nemyo Nawrata as Sitkè. They were ordered to march as quickly as possible and catch up the forces under Mingyi Maha Mingaung and Minhla Kyawdin. The strength of these twelve regiments is not given, probably because it is to be understood that they were of the usual formation and contained 1,200 horse and 12,000 men. Before this reinforcement came up, the advance force had come in contact with a Siamese force of about twenty regiments, at a small range of hills to the west of Sagatan river, three days' march from Tayaik. After fighting two days, the Siamese retreated leaving some of their provisions and water poisoned. Some of the men in the Burmese forces, not suspecting any foul

12 It was probably with these ships that the King's brother came to Chumpon with a force of about 20,000 men to fight the Burmese who had attacked and captured the towns on the west coast. ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร

play, partook of the poisoned food and water, and about 400 men died in consequence.

The Burmese forces followed up the retreating Siamese, keeping close to the Sagatan river, Mingyi Maha Mingaung marching on the north bank and Minhla Kyawdin on the south bank. In one march from Sagatan, they reached Kanpuri where they found 20,000 to 30,000 Siamese. The forces marching on the south bank then crossed over to the north bank. The twelve regiments sent to reinforce them came up at the same time. The combined Burmese forces attacked the Siamese, but they had the worst of the fight, a whole regiment together with its commander, the Kala Wun,[13] was captured by the Siamese. After this, it is very likely that the Siamese assumed the offensive, as the Burmese history says that the thirty-four[14] Burmese regiments pitched camps and remained on the defensive, probably waiting for further reinforcements. Provisions soon ran out and the Burmese forces, including even the officers, had to subsist on edible yams and roots found in the forest. Sixty elephants and 500 men with Lambu Yantathu in charge were sent back to the base behind to fetch provisions. But before they could get to Sagatan, they were ambushed by a force of about 3,000 Siamese who had followed them without their being aware of it. All the 60 elephants and about 300 men fell into the hands of the Siamese. Lambu Yantathu and about 200 men escaped and got back to Kanpuri camp.

King Bodawpaya, who was still at Alantè camp, sent two officers to find out news of the advance forces. On the 2nd of waxing Tabodwè (February), he left Alantè camp, and went to Bilauk in two marches, where he halted for a day. Continuing his march thence, he camped the next day at Daung Thabôn. On the following day he camped in a thatch grass plain at Tayaik. Here the two officers sent to obtain news of the advance

13 "Kala" means foreigner and "Wun" means minister; "Kala Wun" may mean a minister who had charge of foreigners or a minister who was a foreigner or of foreign extraction.

14 This number is evidently wrong. The forces under Mingyi Maha Mingaung consisted of 21 regiments; the reinforcements sent under the command of the King's two sons consisted of 12 regiments. The total of these forces is only 33, and as one whole regiment under Kala Wun had been lost there ought to remain only 32 regiments.

forces returned and met him. They informed him of what had happened, namely, the loss of a whole regiment together with the commander; the fate of the party sent back to fetch provisions; and the condition of the forces at Kanpuri, who were so weak for want of food that they had not sufficient strength even to search for edible yams and roots or to dig them when found. They had to kill and eat their transport bullocks and ponies, and had even to live on the leather of the saddle flaps, shields, and helmets.

His Burman Majesty enquired what provisions there were in the forces encamped at Alantè. He found that they themselves were short of provisions, to say nothing of being able to spare some to be sent forward. Without food it was impossible he said to attain success; the route he had come by was such that it was exceedingly hard to get provisions, owing to the existence of very few towns and villages. He decided to give up the campaign, in fact, there was no other way open. Having sent despatch riders to the advance forces at Kanpuri, as well as to the columns operating via Zinmè, Ywahaing, Dawè, and Byeik, with orders to to give up the expedition, he himself retreated from his camp at Tayaik on the 8th of waxing Tabodwè (February).

Mingyi Maha Mingaung received the orders and withdrew from Kanpuri after having arranged two rear guards of 5,000 men each, with two Sitkès in command. The Siamese followed the retreating Burmese, but did not engage them in fight. The rear guards came up with the main retreating forces at a place about three marches from Kanpuri. In this retreat about 6,000 men fell out from the ranks on the way, from sheer weakness caused by starvation, and were left behind. Many died also from the same cause.

The forces sent to Ywahaing under Nawrata Kyawgaung reached the town in due course. The Governor tendered submission without any resistance, and he and his family together with about 500 men were sent to His Burman Majesty in the charge of Shwedaung Pyanchi. The Burmese continued to march in the direction of Yodaya, but they were attacked in force by the Siamese and held up. Just then orders recalling them arrived and they withdrew.

The Zinmè column captured Zinmè. The commander-in-chief, Mingyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana, then took twenty regiments with him and invested Lagun. He sent Sitkè Nemyo Sithu with the remaining nine regiments to march on towards Yodaya. The latter force seemed to have carried everything before it, capturing the towns of Laling, Peiksè, Thuwunkalauk, Bantet, Thaukkatè, and Peikthalôk, probably because there were no Siamese forces yet to arrest their progress. But when this force tried to proceed further towards Yodaya, it was attacked by the Siamese forces which had rushed up hurriedly. Orders recalling the Burmese forces arrived about this time, and news was also received that the Ywahaing column had retreated. Sitkè Nemyo Sithu then withdrew his forces from Peikthalôk and joined Wungyi Thado Thiri Maha Uzana at Zinmè, the Wungyi apparently having raised the siege of Lagun and returned to Zinmè. The Burmese forces then retreated to Kyaing-Thin.

The Dawè column, under Nemyo Kyawdin Nawrata, went in the direction of Ratbi. In fifteen marches, it reached that town attacked and captured it. It then attacked Pyatbi and captured it also. While preparing to march to Yodaya, it was attacked by a fairly large force of Siamese. Just then the Burmese received orders to retreat and they fell back on Dawè.

Wungyi Maha Thiri Thihathu who was sent to Byeik apparently had no difficulty in capturing the town. Thence he proceeded in sailing ships along the sea-coast. A force of fourteen regiments under the command of Sitkè-gyi Nemyo Gônnarat marched by land keeping close to the sea-shore. In time both the land and sea forces arrived at a place called Sanwa,[15] at a distance of ten marches from Byeik. Here the Wungyi established his head-

15 This expedition under Wungyi Maha Thiri Thihathu to Byeik and thence to Sanwa was evidently the one described by Sir Arthur Phayre in his history of Burma as having reached Junk Seylon and taken possession of it. I do not know the Burmese name for Junk Seylon which is called "Talang = ตลาง" in Siamese. Sanwa mentioned here was very probably the Burmese name for Junk Seylon or Talang. At any rate, no other expedition going beyond Byeik in the direction of Talang or Junk Seylon is mentioned in Hmannan history.—Thien.

quarters. The Sawbwa of Malaka [16] then came and tendered submission with presents of guns, fire-arms, and various kinds of cloth. The fourteen regiments under Sitkè-gyi Nemyo Gônnarat attacked the Siamese forces encamped at Wutkyi, two marches from Sanwa, and were successful. In one march from Wutkyi they got to the town of Sunpyôn, [17] attacked and captured it. In two marches from Sunpyôn, they reached Sayagyi [18] which they attacked and captured. The town of Lôkkun [19] was reached in another four marches, and it was attacked and captured also. The Burmese obtained a large quantity of loot and prisoners from these towns. Here they were surrounded by a large force of Siamese and were obliged to break through the cordon and fall back on Sayagyi. At this place they received orders to retreat and they withdrew to Byeik. The Wungyi also returned to Byeik with the ships.

When King Bodawpaya reached Môttama, after his retreat from Tayaik, he sent for his chief queen, his other queens, and his children, to come down by river to worship the famous Dagôn pagoda. Leaving behind Minlha Sithu with a force of 20,000 men at Môttama, he went on to Hanthawadi. There he found the famous Mawdaw pagoda in a bad state of preservation. He said he would undertake to repair it, and caused such of the material as had fallen into ruin and as required removal, to be removed from the pagoda. He then proceeded by water to the town of Yangôn (Rangoon) where his queens and children had arrived. After having worshipped the Dagôn pagoda in company with his family, he returned by water to the capital. Soon after his arrival, Wungyi Maha Thihathura was entrusted with necessary funds for the repair of the Mawdaw pagoda and sent to Hanthawadi to superintend the work.

King Bodawpaya must have been sorely disappointed that his first attempt to conquer Yodaya should have met with such a signal failure. Moreover, as the campaign was personally directed by him, his belief in his might and power and his conceit that he was a great general, must have received a severe shock. Had he

16 Probably the Raja of Malacca.

17 ชุมพร 18 ไชยา 19 นครศรีธรรมราช

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME NARRATIVE.

Badun Meng was forthwith proclaimed king.

March, A. D. 1782. He assumed various titles afterwards, especially that of Hsengbyu Mya Sheng, but is now usually known as Bodoahprâ. The unfortunate Singgusâ, and those who remained with him, were sent to the city as prisoners, and all, including children and attendants, were ruthlessly burnt to death.

Plots against Bodoahprâ. Bodoahprâ, still pretending ignorance of the conspiracy by which he had profited, put to death those who had gained the palace for Maung Maung. The disclosure of his perfidious nature, seems to have surprised many who had supported him. Plots began to be formed against him.[1] One, said to have been supported by Mahâ Thihathura, had for its object to place on the throne an illegitimate son of Alaunghprâ. The old general, who, though unsuccessful in his last campaign, had long led the Burmese armies to victory, was executed. Another conspiracy was headed by Myatpun, said to be a son of the last king of Burma of the ancient race, who had been carried away as prisoner by the Talaing king. This youth, after a life of adventure among the Shans and Red Karens, found a few desperadoes ready to sup-

December, A. D. 1782. port him. They boldly scaled the wall of the palace in the dead of night, and cried aloud that "the true branch of the royal stock" had appeared. The palace guards were panic-stricken by the suddenness of the attack. The conspirators gained possession of the guns and powder in the palace-yard, but finding no balls, could not use the cannons. They

[1] These plots are briefly hinted at in the Mahâ Rajaweng. Details are given by Father San Germano, pp. 51, 52, and by Colonel Symes, pp. 99, 102.

might have fired the palace, but did not. As soon as it was day-light, and the small number of the assailants was seen, they were seized and put to death. Myatpun for the time escaped, but was speedily taken. Bodoahprâ now gave full rein to his fury. Hundreds of both sexes, and even some Buddhist monks, on vague suspicion that they have been privy to the conspiracy, were burnt alive upon an immense pile of wood. The village where the plot had been formed was razed to the ground; the fruit-trees were cut down, and the fields left to grow wild. In Pegu an insurrection broke out, having for its object to restore the Talaing monarchy; but this was easily suppressed.

Site for a new capital selected.

Bodoahprâ, having sated his rage, commenced building a pagoda at Sagaing, where he had lived for some years. He poured vast treasures into the relic-chamber, and made suitable offering to the monks. Having thus, as he believed, expiated the bloodshed he had caused, he thought to escape the evil influences which clung to a palace that had been the scene of so much slaughter, by changing the capital to another position. After careful search, the site selected was on a plain about six miles north-east from Ava, and bordered to the west by a branch of the great river. The new city was laid out as a square of about two thousand five hundred yards, according to the traditionary rules for the capital of a Burmese king. It was named Amarapura. The palace was in the centre of the city. The king, with his whole court, came in grand procession to occupy the new palace, which a few days afterwards was consecrated.

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Bodoahprâ, however, was too firmly seated on his throne to give heed to any murmurings. All dangerous men of influence had been got rid of; but he allowed no adverse remark on his measures to pass unpunished. Having created his eldest son Ainshêmeng, or heir-apparent, one of his younger brothers was said to have quoted his own reply, as to the declaration on succession to the throne of the great founder of the dynasty. He was at once executed.

Distracted state of Arakan.

Bodoahprâ was now entire master of the country included in the basin of the Irâwadi. The chiefs in the districts east of the Salwîn as far as the Mekong acknowledged his supremacy. The sea-coast, as far south as the port of Tenasserim, was subject to his government. Fortune laid open to him a kingdom which had been subject to Burma some centuries before, but afterwards had recovered independence, and had not been subdued by Alaunghprâ. The distracted state of Arakan at this period has already been narrated.[1] For many years past, discontented nobles from that country had flocked to Ava, beseeching aid to restore order. Singgusâ had no ambition for warlike expeditions, and paid no attention to these applications. So terrible, from the tyranny of faction and the desolation of civil strife, was the state of that country, that even foreign interference,—the last resource of despair to lovers of their country,—was accepted as promising relief from greater evil.

After the destructive earthquakes which seemed to portend the overthrow of the kingdom, Sanda Parama was dethroned by his brother-in-law, who ascended the palace, and took the title of Apaya Mahâ Râjâ. He in his turn was put to death by one of his officers, who then reigned as Sanda

[1] See chapter xvii.

Thumanâ. Bodoahprâ sent emissaries to inquire as to the state of the country, and the king not daring to resent this act of interference by his powerful neighbour, humbly represented by letter that all disturbance had subsided. But resistance to the nominal king soon broke out once more, and Sanda Thumanâ fled from his capital. He became a Rahân, but this did not save his life. One of the rebel chiefs seized the palace. Immediately there was a combination of faction leaders against him, and he fled. A chief in Ramri, Aungzun, a man of resolute character, was called by a majority to occupy the throne. He took the title of Sanda Thaditha Dhammarît Râjâ. Some chiefs still persisted in resistance to his authority, and as he pursued them into the mountains with untiring determination, they fled across the border into Burma. One of them, Hari, the son of Apaya Mahâ Râjâ, invited Bodoahprâ to take the country. The time did not appear suitable, and nothing was done. In the meantime, Dhammarît Râjâ honestly endeavoured to quiet the kingdom. His efforts were in vain. Village fought against village, and robbers plundered everywhere. In the midst of this confusion the king suddenly died. The husband of his niece succeeded, and took the pompous title of Mahâ Thamadâ, the name of the first king, the Nimrod of the Buddhist world. Bodoahprâ saw that the time had come. His scouts kept him well informed, and he knew that Arakan would be an easy prey.

A. D. 1781.

A. D. 1782.

Conquest of Arakan.

The conquest having been determined on, Bodoahprâ made ample preparations to ensure success. An army of twenty thousand men, two thousand five hundred horses, and over two hundred elephants, was assembled at and near Amarapura. It was composed of four divisions, three of which were to march to Arakan by land. The fourth, still incomplete in

numbers, would, when joined by boatmen and landsmen drawn from the lower country, proceed by sea. The three divisions which formed the land columns were under the command of the king's three sons, the Ainshêmeng, who was also commander-in-chief, Thado Mengzoa, and Kâma Meng. The army having moved in advance, the Ainshêmeng left the capital and proceeded down the river. The division under Thado Mengzoa disembarked at Menbu, with orders to cross the mountains by the Talâk pass. The two other divisions continued on, passing Prome to Padaung. The plan was, so to arrange the march of the three land columns, that the flotilla should have time to come round by sea, and enable the land columns to occupy Sandoway, Ramrî, and Cheduba; after which a general advance would be made on the capital in Arakan proper. The division under Kâma Meng went down the river as far as Kyankheng, from whence it marched to cross the mountains, and debouch on the plain of Sandoway. The flotilla of armed vessels under Nê Myu Kyohteng and Tarabyâ, a Talaing officer, went on to Bassein. Joined there by more vessels, and men raised in the delta, it passed Pagoda Point and Cape Negrais, and began to work up the coast towards Sandoway and Ramrî.

October, A. D. 1784.

The Ainshêmeng halted at Padaung for twelve days, and then commenced his march leisurely, by the pass which led to Taungup on the sea-coast. Thado Mengzoa reached Talâk after some opposition from an Arakanese force. The flotilla made extraordinary exertions, and a few days after the Ainshêmeng had arrived at Taungup, it was reported to be at the mouth of the Sandoway river, and in communication with the column of Kâma Meng. The town of Sandoway was occupied without opposition, and the whole force was combined under the com-

About 2nd December, A. D. 1784.

mander-in-chief at Tanlwai. He proceeded against Ramrî. The island was held by a son of Dhammarît Râjâ, who was defeated without difficulty. The Ainshêmeng then proceeded northwards, and mustered his forces at the mouth of the Talâk river. Moving his army, chiefly by means of his flotilla, into the great river of Arakan, two chiefs with their followers made submission. At Laungkrek the Arakenese fleet was defeated, and there being no adequate means for the defence of the capital, the chiefs and Rahâns entreated Mahâ Thamadâ to submit. He fled to the jangal, and the Ainshêmeng entered the city. The fugitive king was brought in a prisoner a month afterwards. About 28th December, A. D. 1784.

Bodoahprâ recalled his sons, and sending Meng Khaung Gyô as governor of the conquered province, directed that ten thousand men should remain as garrison, and the rest of the army return home. The great national image of Arakan, called Mahâmuni, was sent across the mountains by the Taungup pass; was received by the king with great honour; and was set up in a building specially erected for it to the north of the city. The king of Arakan, his queens, and his whole family; the chief officers, the Brahman astrologers and soothsayers with their families, and numerous prisoners, were sent by the same route. All the arms and muskets, with the great guns, one nearly thirty feet long, which had been found in the city, were sent by sea.

Invasion of Siam.

The conquest of Arakan had been achieved so easily that Bodoahprâ, ambitious of military glory, determined himself to lead an army to subdue Siam. The pretended cause of war was to exact tribute asserted to be due, and to avenge the defeats inflicted by the valiant Phaya Tâk. A preliminary expedition was sent by sea, which took possession

Early in A.D. 1785.

of Junk Seylon, but after a few weeks the force was driven out by the Siamese, and obliged to return to Mergui. The advantage to be derived from this isolated attack is not apparent. Success could have had little effect on the main object, which was to occupy the capital. Junk Seylon could not be made the base for operations against Bankok, and the only benefit to be derived from the occupation of that island by the Burmese, would be to intercept the supply of firearms coming from Indian ports, of which traffic however there is no evidence. The expedition was a very expensive one, and caused a great loss in men.

Plan of operations.

Bodoahprâ determined to throw an overwhelming invading force into Siam, at several points simultaneously. Meng Khaung Gyo was sent to Martaban to collect boats, cattle, and provisions, and to explore the road for a march by the route known as that of the three pagodas. An army of one hundred thousand men was assembled and divided into six corps. It was composed of men drawn from Mogaung and the northen Shân states; from the eastern states; and from other parts of the empire. One

September A. D. 1785.

corps was dispatched in advance from Martaban to Tavoy to be in readiness to act from that quarter. One was assembled at Zimmè, and three at Martaban. One body of choice troops was headed by the king himself. Leaving his eldest son in charge of the palace, he marched from the capital to Taungu, and

Middle of October A. D. 1785.

reached Martaban after thirty-nine days. There he combined four corps into a grand army under his own command, to move by the route of the three pagodas, but detached a division to create a diversion towards Rahaing. His own projected line of march was to cross the Salwîn from Martaban; to proceed up the valley of the Attarân river by the branch which leads to the three pagodas, at the summit of the

mountain range which separates the two countries; from whence, crossing the Siamese border, the route would be pursued down the course of the Menam or Khwaynauey to the town of Kanburî, from whence the march to Bankok would be easy. The grand army, commanded by Bodoahprâ, consisted of not less than fifty thousand men. It soon appeared that the provisions and transport collected, were utterly inadequate for the wants of such an army. The king, in his self-sufficient ignorance and impatience, had issued orders without allowing sufficient time for due arrangements to be made. In his rage he now threatened with death the whole of his principal officers, or, in his own words, "to burn them all in one fiery furnace." The unfortunate Meng Khaung Gyo, who was chiefly responsible, had gone in command of the corps of Tavoy. He was ordered to be sent back in chains. The king persevered in his march. When near the three pagodas, the prisoner arrived and was forthwith executed. The army, now in a difficult mountainous country, was repeatedly attacked and severely handled by the Siamese, and already thousands of the invaders were dying for want of food,

March to the frontier.

Phaya Tàk had been succeeded on the throne of Siam by Phaya Chakkri, the ancestor of the present king of that country. For greater security against Burmese attack, he removed the inhabitants of Bankok from the west to the east bank of the river. Being a man of ability and courage, he had led the Siamese armies in many actions since the fall of Ayuthia in A.D. 1767, and had revived the spirit of the people, which, after the conquest by Bureng Naung, had been cowed under the superior force of the Burmese. The confidence thus infused into the Siamese was manifested by the vigorous attacks made on the invading army. By the middle

Heroic defence by the King of Siam.

A. D. 1786. of January, news reached Bodoahprâ that the column marching from Tavoy had been almost annihilated beyond Mergui. His own advance met with the same fate, and those who escaped fell back in disorder on the main body. The king, terrified for his own safety, was only anxious to escape. He issued orders for all the invading columns to retreat. That which was advancing from Zimmè had met with some success, but all the others had suffered from the enemy and from hunger. Bodoahprâ fearing lest his own retreat should be cut off in the difficult country in which he was entangled, fled back to Martaban, leaving the scattered remains of his army to escape as they could. Ordering his queens and children to meet him at Rangoon, that all might worship together at the great pagoda, he proceeded to the ancient capital of Pegu. From thence he came by river to Rangoon and returned to his own capital. The following year the Siamese in revenge laid siege to Tavoy, but were unsuccessful.

II.

INTRODUCTION.

The successes gained by the Siamese in the last two Burmese invasions of Siam, had the effect of making them more confident of their fighting power and tactical skill. These successes had also the effect of inclining the Lao chiefs of northern Siam, who were never truly loyal to the Burmese Sovereign, to sever their undesirable connection with Burma and throw in their lot with Siam. Moreover, the Siamese Monarch himself began to adopt a more aggressive policy towards these chiefs with a view to bringing them all under subjection to him. The consequence was that, about a year after the Burmese had suffered two severe defeats from the growing power of the Siamese, there arose considerable unrest and opposition to Burmese authority in Chiengmai and the provinces lying to the east of the Salween, hitherto subject to Burma. It was to put down this unrest and bring these provinces and their chiefs completely under subjection and control, that King Bodawpaya despatched an expedition to northern Siam.

The account of this expedition as given in the Hmannan history is quite different from that given in the Siamese history [1] and in the "Statement or deposition of a native of Ava," [2] at least in so far as the incidents of the fighting are concerned. It is quite possible that the compilers of the Hmannan history were at fault. They might have mixed up this expedition with some other expeditions to northern Siam, and the reason for this supposition is the absence of Shan contingents in the expeditionary force in question. It will be noticed in the narrative given below, that none of the Sawbwas or Shan Chiefs, except the Governor of Maing-That and the Sawbwa of Tilin, supplied contingents; this is very unusual, as in most other expeditions to northern Siam, the Sawbwas and Governors of the Shan country, especially that portion of it

1 พระราช พงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๒๑๗ แต น่า ต่อ ไป

2 คำ ให้ การ ชาวอังวะ ฉบับ พิมพ์ พ. ศ. ๒๔๕๘ น่า ๒๓

lying to the east and south-east of the Burmese capital, had to supply contingents of a regiment each, as that part of the country lies on the line of march of an army starting from the Burmese capital and proceeding in the direction of Chiengmai and other provinces to the east of the Salween. It is also noticeable that Sir Arthur Phayre did not mention this expedition in his history of Burma.

TRANSLATION.

In the year 1149 (A. D. 1787) King Bodawpaya ordered an expedition to northern Siam to repress a great deal of disaffection and disloyalty prevailing in the fifty-seven provinces which comprise the Kingdom of Zinmè and the other towns and provinces lying on the east of the Thanlwin (Salween) river. An army composed of 66 regiments, containing 4000 horse and 45,000 men, under the supreme command of Wungyi Maha Zeyathura with Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya and Wandauk Nemyo Kyawdin as assistants left the capital on the 2nd of waning Tawthalin 1149 (September A. D. 1787), to go to Zinmè via Monè. The Governor of Maing That who enjoyed the title of Yangwinkyaw, and the Sawbwa of Tilin supplied contingents of a regiment each to this column.

Another column composed of 46 regiments, containing 35,000 men under the supreme command of Kin-u Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan with Thamandayè and Shwedaungthu as assistants, was sent by river to Môttama with orders to go and attack Pathin. On arrival at Môttama, the 46 regiments were divided into three divisions; one containing 15 regiments was placed on the right, another containing the same number of regiments was placed on the left, and the third containing 16 regiments with the Bogyôk (commander-in-chief) in command was in the centre. They all crossed the Thanlwin from Môttama and marched straight to Pathin.

When Wungyi Maha Zeyathura reached Monè, he despatched Yangyaw Pyitsi and Yazathiha Kyawdin to march on ahead with their regiments, probably on reconnoitring or scouting duty. He then split up his army into several divisions to march in

different directions. A division of twelve regiments under the command of Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya was ordered to cross the Thanlwin river at Kyaingkan Ta,[3] and march through Maing Pu, Maing That, and Kyaing Thin. Another division of ten regiments under the command of Letya Winhmu Nemyo Kyawgaung Nawrata was sent to cross the Thanlwin at Thin Nyut, Thin Maung Ta, and proceed by way of Kyaingtôn, Kyaing Chaing, and Maing Nyaung. A third containing twenty-nine regiments under Nemyo Thura Kyawdin with Set-yèthu as assistant crossed the Thanlwin at Tasin ferry and marched via Maing Thwin and Kyaing-rè.

Wungyi Maha Zeyathura with the remaining thirteen regiments crossed the Thanlwin also at Tasin ferry and marched along the same route as that taken by Nemyo Thura Kyawdin, keeping himself in touch with that officer. When the Wungyi arrived at Maing Thwin, he received a report from Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya that Kyaing Thin was offering a strong resistance. On receipt of this report, instead of following, as he at first intended, the division under Nemyo Thura Kyawdin which had gone on to Kyaing-rè, he diverted his course, took his thirteen regiments to Kyaing Thin and joined the ten regiments under Thitsein Bo Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya. The combined forces then approached the town of Kyaing Thin to attack it. The inhabitants of the town, seeing that the Burmese forces had been greatly reinforced, dared not offer further resistance; they therefore left the town and remained in hiding out in the jungles and forests. Wungyi Maya Zeyathura entered the town, and induced the refugees from the town to return. He himself stayed at Kyaing Thin for about a month; but the Thitsein Bo and his division probably did not stay there so long and went on ahead, though it is not expressly stated thus in the Hmannan history.

Nemyo Thura Kyawdin and his twenty-nine regiments overcame all resistance on the way offered by the people of the fifty-seven provinces of Zinnè, and went on as far as Lagun where they found the town strongly defended. They therefore encamped on the

[3] Evidently a Siamese word=ฝาง

south and west sides of the town waiting for reinforcements. In due course the expected reinforcements arrived, namely, the two regiments under Yangyaw Pyitsi and Thiha Kyawdin which were sent on ahead from Monè, the ten regiments under Nemyo Kyawgaung Nawrata which came through Kyaingtôn, and the twelve regiments under Nemyo Kyawdin Thinkaya which came over from Kyaing Thin. The strength of the Burmese forces was brought up to fifty-three regiments, and with the whole of these the town was completely surrounded and closely invested. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura, having rested at Kyaing Thin for a month, left it and went to Kyaing-rè and thence to Lagun where all the rest of the Burmese forces of the northern column had assembled and were investing the town. On arrival there, he and his thirteen regiments encamped at a place called Thattiwa, about 500 "tas" (just over a mile) to the west of the town. The besiegers made several attempts to storm the town and capture it, but they were always repulsed with heavy losses owing to the strong defence made by Kawila's[4] father Sèkyaw and brother Nwè-tat.

On the 10th of waxing Tabaung (March) a Siamese force of between 50,000 and 60,000 men arrived and encamped at a distance of 700 "tas" from Wungyi Maha Zeyathura's camp. The name of the commander of the Siamese forces is not given in the Hmannan history, as is very frequently the case when the Burmese got the worst of any fight; but whoever he might be, there can be no doubt that he was a clever tactician, He saw at once the mistake made by the Burmese commander-in-chief in having his camp with his thirteen regiments about 500 "tas" away from the investing forces. The Siamese commander by his superior numbers effectually prevented any communication between the investing forces and the thirteen regiments under the Burmese commander-in-chief, thus dividing the Burmese army into two portions, and thereby weakening the fighting strength of each. The Siamese attacked the investing forces fiercely, while the defenders of the town, emboldened by the presence of the Siamese, came out of the town and met the Burmese in the open. After fighting continuously for four days and three nights, the

[4] พระยา กาวิละ

besiegers were obliged to raise the siege and fall back on Kyaing Thin. The Wungyi had, perforce, to retire to Kyaing Thin also.

The column of forty-six regiments under Letya Thiha Thingyan marched from Môttama, and overcoming all resistance on the way, reached the town of Pathin, their first objective. The Burmese forces assailed the town on all its four sides repeatedly, but owing to the strong and effective defence made by the famous Lao Chief, Kawila, the assailants were hurled back every time, suffering severe losses. The Burmese then settled down to play the siege game. The Siamese army which had successfully attacked the Burmese investing forces at Lagun and compelled them to retire to Kyaing Thin came to Pathin and attacked the Burmese. Here also the Siamese were completely successful, the Burmese being obliged to raise the siege and retire.

Wungyi Maha Zeya Thura was recalled. He left Yaza Thiha Kyawdin with a force of 3000 men at Kyaing Thin; and doing what he could to suppress the disaffection and disloyalty of the Sawbwa of Kyaing-yôn and the chiefs and governors in the "twelve pannas,"[5] the country of the Lu people, he returned to the capital with the rest of his army.

The Hmannan history does not say any more about the Môttama column under Letya Thiha Thingyan, after stating that it had to raise the siege and retire. In all probability it was also recalled. So King Bodawpaya's attempt to bring the Lao chiefs of northern Siam more completely under his sway met, like his attempt to invade and capture Yodaya, with utter failure.

[5] สิบสอง ปันนา

III.

TRANSLATION.

Although King Bodawpaya's military expeditions to southern and northern Siam had met with severe reverses, and the suzerainty over the chiefs in northern Siam was gradually passing from his hands into those of the new King of Siam, the founder of the present dynasty, His Burman Majesty seemed still to enjoy the fame of a great monarch. Even the Emperor of China deemed it advisable to court King Bodawpaya's alliance. Only about five months before the last mentioned unsuccessful expedition to northern Siam was despatched, an embassy from the Chinese Emperor arrived at the court of Amarapura. The Chinese ambassador and his suite were received with a great display of magnificence and splendour; all the princes, nobles, ministers, and officials were in full dress at the audience accorded, and even the King and the Chief Queen appeared on the principal throne wearing crowns, bedecked and surrounded with all the insignia of royalty. A return embassy was sent, the Burmese envoy and his suite accompanying the Chinese ambassador on his return. The friendly relations continued throughout Bodawpaya's reign; in fact, the Emperor of China appeared to be very favourably disposed towards him. In Kasôn 1151 (May, A. D. 1789), a Buddha image and an exact imitation of Buddha's tooth which the Emperor of China was reputed to possess, arrived at the Burmese capital, having been sent as presents by the Chinese Emperor, who is usually styled as the elder brother in the Burmese history.

About eighteen months later, the Chinese Emperor again showed his good will towards the Burmese Monarch by presenting the latter with three Chinese princesses. They were accompanied by seven Chinese officials and an escort of about one thousand soldiers. When the party arrived at the town of Mowun, the Chinese officials sent information of their mission to the Sawbwa of Bânmaw, who in turn submitted a report of it to His Burman Majesty. Orders were sent back by those who brought the report that the Sawbwa of Banmaw was to go and receive the mission suitably. The Sawbwa did as ordered, and when the party including the Sawbwa's

reached a place called Lwèlun, three of the Chinese officials took leave and returned, the remaining four accompanying the princesses to the Burmese capital. On arrival at Banmaw, the Sawbwa submitted a report of their safe arrival, and His Majesty of Burma ordered that a party of Burmese officials must go up the river to Banmaw to welcome the princesses in a manner befitting the great and powerful country which had presented them. A flotilla of royal barges and boats was taken up. The barge intended to convey the princesses to the capital was gilded at the prow and stern; it had a three tiered roof and was ceiled with white cloth; it was towed by four state boats and six canoes all painted red. Six other barges formed the complement of the flotilla; one of these was for the use of the attendants on the princesses, one to convey the presents sent by the Emperor, two for the use of the Chinese officials, and one to convey the presents made by His Burman Majesty to the three princesses. A big temporary building was put up at Yan-aung, a river landing to the west of the city, for the party to rest after landing from the barges. For the residence of the princesses one building with three-tiered roof and two buildings with two-tiered roof were built in the palace enclosure. The princesses with their suite and the welcome party arrived at the Yan-aung landing on the 8th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1152 (November, A.D. 1790), where they rested for three days. Thence they were conveyed to the palace in royal palanquins escorted by the King's aunt in full dress decked out with orders and insignia conferred on her, and accompanied by wives of officials in full dress, all in state conveyances permitted them according to their rank. The princesses were presented to His Burman Majesty and afterwards accommodated in the buildings specially built for them. Two days afterwards, the four Chinese officials were admitted into His Majesty's presence together with the presents sent by the Chinese Emperor, among which mention is made of one hundred and eight priceless pearls. The audience accorded to these Chinese officials was with the same show of magnificence and splendour as in the case of the reception of the Chinese ambassador and his suite. After the audience the following titles were conferred on the three Chinese princesses. The eldest whose name was Taku-

nyin was given the title of Thiri Maha Gandara Dewi (Sīri mahā gandhāra devī); the second whose name was Eku-nyin was given the title of Thiri Maha Pyinsala Dewi (Sīri mahā pañcāla devī); and the youngest whose name Thanku-nyin, the title of Thiri Maha Ganda Sanda Dewi (Sīri mahā gandhā candā devī). The Chinese officials were given suitable presents and permitted to return.

King Bodawpaya showed great religious zeal, which was considered a very commendable trait in a King professing Buddhism. He sent learned Buddhist priests with the Buddhist sacred books to all the principal towns in his kingdom, to preach Buddha's Law of Righteousness. He also built many monasteries and pagodas, and repaired many old and dilapidated ones. But his zeal in the matter of building pagodas overstepped the bounds of reason. He was ambitious of outdoing all his predecessors, in fact of surpassing all Buddhist kings known to ancient and modern history of his time, by building a pagoda which would excel in size any of the then existing pagodas and of those known to history. A place called Min-ywa, about fifteen miles to the north of the capital on the opposite bank of the river, was chosen for the site of this pagoda. On the 15th of waxing Nadaw 1152 (December, A.D. 1790) he proceeded to the site chosen, apparently to superintend the preliminary operations. The foundation bricks of silver and gold were laid by himself on the 5th of waxing Tabodwè (February, A.D. 1791). The name of the place was, at the same time, changed from Min-ywa to Min-gun. After this he spent most of his time at Min-gun where he had a temporary palace built. The capital was left in the charge of the Maha Upayaza, and when the prince was away conducting military expeditions, one of the principal ministers took charge of it. Even foreign ambassadors were often received at Min-gun. King Bodawpaya did not finish the building of his pagoda, [1] having abandoned it when it had risen to about a third of its intended height. A small pagoda called

[1] See appendix III for an account of this pagoda.

Pôndawpaya [1] was built not far from the big pagoda; it was to serve as a model in the building of the great edifice, and a comparison of the two would show how ambitious had been the King's project.

In Tabaung 1153 (March, A.D. 1792), a quarrel arose between Myinzaingza [2] Nemyo Kyawdin, the Wun or Governor of Dawè, and Minhla Sithu, the Wun or Governor of Môttama. The former apparently sought the assistance of the Siamese. This fact came to the knowledge of King Bodawpaya from one Nga Myat Tha who had arrived from Dawè; this man was probably one of

1 "Pôndawpaya at Mingun.

"Before undertaking to build a pagoda of huge dimensions, it is customary among Burmans to construct a model, whose architectural features are simply enlarged on the bigger edifice. In accordance with this custom, Bodawpaya, who reigned from 1781 to 1819 A.D., built the Pôndawpaya, a structure about 15 feet high, to serve as the model of the Mingun Pagoda, on which he spent much treasure and more than 20 years of his long reign. His great idea was to "beat the record" in building pagodas among all Buddhist Kings known to history, but he was prevented from completing his project by foreign wars and domestic troubles. The exact height of the unfinished shrine is not known. In spite of the earthquake, which shattered it in 1838, its height is still about 165 feet, and its probable dimensions, if completed, could be inferred from the Pôndawpaya. This little structure consists of a bell-shaped dome surmounted by a *Sikkhara* and resting on a square plinth of solid masonry, and appears to be a hybrid between the Shwezigôn and Ananda Pagodas of Pagan, which afford so many prototypes of Buddhist religious edifices throughout the country. It is adorned with all the appurtenances of a finished place of worship, namely, circuit walls, stair-cases, leogryphs, ornamented arches, etc. The remains of this interesting model Pagoda were conserved, and care was taken to perpetuate its existing features. In order to prevent the intrusion of cattle and the erosion by floods, it has been proposed to erect a fencing and an earthen rampart enclosing the entire site."

(Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st of March 1908.) See also appendix III.

2 Literally "eater of Myinzaing town." In one place in the history of Siam, he is called Mengenza, son of Metkara Bo (แมง แกงซา บุตร เมฆราโบ. ดู พระราช พงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๒๒๓), and in another place, Menchancha, *i.e.*, Myinzainza (แมง จันจา. ดู พระราช พงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๒๕๒), which latter is in accordance with Hmannan history. There is a town in Burma by the name of Mingin, but Nemyo Kyawdin was not the "eater" of it.

the spies employed by the Burmese court to watch the conduct of provincial governors. The King who was then staying at Min-gun superintending the building of the great pagoda, at once ordered Wungyi Nemyo Thinkaya to proceed to Môttama to watch affairs there, as a firm and resourceful officer was necessary to keep the Talaing population under control and to be on the alert for the appearance of the Siamese in that direction. A force of 8 regiments containing 10,000 men was despatched at the same time, under the supreme command of the Atwin Wun Mingyi Maha Thettawshe, and it left the capital on the 12th of waxing Tabaung (March). It was ordered to march to Dawè as quickly as possible. Thamein Thanlaik, a Talaing nobleman who held the office of Taungbet Myin Wun (minister of southern cavalry forces) commanded one of the regiments. About six weeks after the departure of this force, the King returned to the capital and made arrangements to send the Maha Upayaza to conduct the expedition to Dawè. The forces sent then were:—one division of 7 regiments containing 3,500 men under the command of Thitsein Bo Mingyi Thinkaya formed the van-guard; two divisions, each of the same formation and strength as the vanguard, one under the command of Nemyo Pônnagyaw and the other under Nemyo Kamani Thingyan, formed the right and left wings respectively; and a fourth division, of the same formation and strength as the others, under Kin-u Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan formed the rear-guard. The Maha Upayaza himself had a regiment under his direct command, but the strength of it was not mentioned. He had as "Sitkès" (chief staff officers) Athi Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and Einshe Wun (minister attached to the Crown Prince) Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu. In addition to a personal body-guard of 50 or 60 young men chosen from among the sons of nobles and ministers, he had a special body-guard of 4,000 men armed with spears, 1,000 men armed with bows, and 1,000 musketeers. He left the capital on the 5th of waxing Nayôn 1154 (June, A.D. 1792) by river. The 50 or 60 sons of noble families, who were armed with swords, travelled in the same royal barge, which conveyed the Maha Upayaza, while the special body-guard of spearmen, archers, and musketeers were all in boats, disposed around him, in the

front and rear, on the right and left. The forces of the four divisions apparently accompanied him in transport boats down the river. Besides the forces mentioned above, the cavalry and elephant corps were sent by land via Taung-ngu (Toungoo). Of the cavalry, special mention is made of four squadrons which, by their names, appeared to be the cavalry force formed entirely of Kathès (Manipuris) who were reputed to be good horsemen. By the same route went fourteen regiments of all arms, that is infantry, cavalry and elephants. The strength of these forces is not given in the history, but according to the usual formation of the Burmese army, they would probably contain 150 elephants and 1,500 horses 15,000 men.

On the first day of the march the Maha Upayaza encamped at the ferry landing of Aungmye Lawka pagoda at Sagaing. He had brought with him under arrest Metkaya Bo,[1] a military officer of the rank of regimental commander, and father of the rebel governor of Dawè, Nemyo Kyawdin, whose personal name was Nga Myat Pyu. In the old regime, the relations, especially the parents, wife, and children, of a person accused of a criminal offence, were held jointly and severally responsible for the offence; and in the case of the most serious offences against the state, such as treason, rebellion, &c., it was said that the responsibility extended to seven generations preceding and seven generations succeeding the delinquent. According to this barbarous law of joint responsibility, the unfortunate Metkaya Bo, the father of the rebel governor, was publicly executed in the front of the vanguard, on the first camping ground of the expeditionary force. What appears to be more inhuman at the present day was the execution, according to custom, of the wife and children of the misguided governor. This execution was carried out at the capital, and the history simply says that they were "sentenced according to custom". But when one remembers that in those days, the heaviest punishment for treason and rebellion, a

[1] เมฆราโบ (ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๒๒๓) หรือ มัคราโบ (ดูน่า ๒๕๓) แต่ ชื่อเมืองเปน "มักครา" ไม่ใช่ "มัคราโบ" "โบ" แปลว่า "นายทหารผู้บังคับกอง"

punishment often imposed in Bodawpaya's reign, was to shut in the condemned in an enclosure of bamboo and matting and blow them up with gun-powder or burn them alive, one shudders with horror at the extreme barbarity of sacrificing innocent lives and inflicting intolerable suffering on guiltless persons, were they indeed condemned to pay the forfeit of their lives by this form of punishment.

The Maha Upayaza stayed three days at his first camping place, making adorations to the Aungmye Lawka pagoda. He then continued his journey down the river, calling at Pagan and Pyi (Prome) and staying a day at each place to make his adorations to the famous pagodas there. He arrived at the town of Yangôn (Rangoon) on the 9th of waning Nayòn, that is, on the twentieth day since he left the capital. He built a temporary wooden stockade about 600 "tas" to the north-west of the town and took up his quarters there.

Wungyi Nemyo Thinkaya and Atwin Wun Mingyi Maha Thettawshe arrived at Môttama in due course. They discussed as to what steps they should take and came to the conclusion that immediate action was necessary. Mingyi Maha Thettawshe had a force of 10,000 men formed originally into 8 regiments. Subsequently these regiments were apparently reformed, each containing 500 men. Fifteen of these reformed regiments, containing 7,500 men, under the chief command of Man-gyidòn Bo were despatched to Dawè on the 1st of waxing Kasôn (May).

There were large Siamese forces already assembled at Dawè. The Yodaya Einshe (Siamese heir apparent) Paya Peikthalôk [1] with 40,000 men was encamped at Kyaukmawgôn, and the Siamese Monarch's father-in-law, Paya Run Parat, [2] and Binnya Sein [3] with 15,000 men were at a place called Thitkanet about twenty miles to the east of the town. The Man-gyidôn Bo and his fifteen regiments met with the Siamese forces at Thitkanet and a battle was fought. The Burmese suffered a defeat, the Governor of Kawliya and Yègaung Kyawdin Kyaw, both regimental comman-

[1] พระยาพิศณุโลก [2] พระยายมราช [3] พระยาเจ่ง

ders, were killed in the fight. The Burmese forces then returned to Môttama, as it was plain that they were greatly outnumbered. Wungyi Nemyo Thinkaya and Mingyi Maha Thettawshe submitted a report of this defeat to the Maha Upayaza at Rangoon. The Prince said that the two deceased officers very nobly sacrificed their lives in the field of battle, mindful of the gratitude they owed to their Sovereign and in faithful observance of the oath of allegiance they had taken to discharge their duties truly and fearlessly, that their death was due to the failure of the remaining thirteen officers to do their duty and to co-operate and assist one another. He sent back orders that the thirteen officers should be executed, so as to serve as a deterrent example to all that saw or heard of the punishment.

The rainy season had just begun, and during the rains, all military operations generally had to be stopped owing to the heavy rainfall, especially in places like Môttama, Dawè, and Myeik. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura therefore asked the Maha Upayaza to rest in Rangoon during the rains, and to take to the field again at the close of the season, when Dawè could be retaken easily, with less trouble and hardship to the troops. The Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu said that the opinion expressed by the Wungyi was quite true, but 40,000 Siamese with Einshe Paya Peikthalôk were already in Dawè, and information had been received that the King of Siam himself was coming down with an army. The Siamese armies sent to oppose King Bodawpaya's invasion of Siam had not been so large as on this occasion. Using the town of Dawè, already in the hands of the Siamese, as his base, the Siamese Monarch, in taking to the field himself, evidently meant to conquer and annex Burmese territory. The Einshe Wun therefore suggested the posting to all the towns to the east and south of Môttama, of officers who were capable militarily and possessed of sound sense to be able to take immediate and suitable action in case of any emergency. This wise suggestion was approved of by Mingyi Thinkaya and all the regimental commanders. The Maha Upayaza then said that his august father ordered this expedition, knowing full well that the time was inopportune for military operations, because he feared that Nga Myat Pyu, the

rebel governor, would, in co-operation with the Siamese, cause serious trouble in the territories inhabited by the Talaings. If without taking immediate action, they were to rest during the rains, the enemy would gather strength and obtain a strong foothold, in which case their own operations would be more difficult, multifarious, and prolonged. He forthwith issued orders that Wungyi Maha Zeyathura was to station himself at Môttama and Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu was to fix his headquarters at the town of Ye and direct the operations from there, sending Mingyi Thinkaya, Nemyo Gônna Kyawthu, and Letya Thiha Thingyan to assume commands in the field forces at the front. Wungyi Nemyo Thinkaya was deprived of his post at Môttama, and Atwin Wun Mingyi Maha Thettawshe relieved of his command, and both were ordered to return to the capital, very probably because the Prince considered them inefficient on account of the defeat suffered by the Burmese in their first encounter with the Siamese.

The following forces by land and sea were organized and sent to Dawè. A division of 6 regiments containing 3,000 musketeers was despatched in six big ships laden with big guns and munitions of war. It was under the command of Akauk Wun (Minister of Customs) Thiri Yaza Damarat. The forces sent by sea were conveyed by means of sea-going transport boats, and three flotillas of such boats were despatched. One flotilla of 100 boats carrying 10,000 men was under the command of Nemyo Gônna Kyawthu, a second flotilla of 100 boats with 10,000 men was under Mingyi Thinkaya, and a third flotilla of the same number of boats and men was under Balayanta Kyawdin. The forces ordered to march to Dawè by land consisted of 41 regiments containing 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the command of Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu with Kin-U Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan and Sitkaung Thiri as assistants. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura was stationed at Môttama with a force of 10 regiments containing 200 horse and 5,000 men.

When Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu arrived at Môttama, the latter said that if they were

to execute the Man-gyidôn Bo and twelve other regimental commanders, as ordered by the Maha Upayaza they would be greatly handicapped owing to the shortage of field-officers, and it would be like helping the enemy. He suggested that they should petition the Prince to pardon the thirteen officers in question, who would be sent to the fore-front of the battle. Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and all the regimental commanders approved of the suggestion and a petition was sent accordingly to the Prince at Rangoon. But the Maha Upayaza was unrelenting; and saying that he could forgive other offences but not remissness in the conduct of war, he sent the messengers back without rescinding his previous order and without pardoning the thirteen condemned officers. When Wungyi Maha Zeyathura and Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu learnt that their attempt to save the lives of these unfortunate men was a failure, they decided to execute only five officers out of the thirteen, whose conduct they considered as most reprehensible, so that they could not be said that they disobeyed the Prince's order, and at the same time they were able to save as many lives as they could. In doing this they took the whole responsibility on themselves, not without the risk of losing their own lives. The five officers chosen for execution were, Man-gyidôn Bo, Pagan Bo, Pyilôn Nyein, Thamein Thanlaik, and Sakya Min-yè. The first three officers were chosen, because they were the principal officers, and as such they should have shown more energy, perseverance, and determination in the fight; the reason for choosing Thamein Thanlaik was that, although he was Talaing by birth, His Majesty trusted that he would render valuable service and therefore appointed him Wun of the nine southern cavalry districts, and created him a noble on the same footing as the Burmese ministers of state; but this high trust he betrayed by his want of devotion to duty and lack of self-sacrifice. The last officer was chosen, for the reason that he had once committed a serious offence for which His Majesty condemned him to death, but his life was saved by the intercession of the Maha Upayaza; moreover, he was again appointed by the Prince to responsible position, but instead of showing great self-sacrifice and rendering conspicuous service to atone for his past misdeed and to be deser-

ving of the great consideration shown him, he failed to perform even his ordinary duty, by not leading his men energetically in the fight. The executions were carried out at Môttama. The remaining eight were spared their lives, and exhorted to show their mettle in the coming campaign and prove themselves worthy of the consideration shown them.

In the meanwhile the King of Siam himself marched with an army to Dawè and encamped at Thitkanet where the Siamese had scored their initial success. From that place he directed the operations. He sent Wungyi Paya Kalahôn[1] with 10,000 men to encamp at Kyaukmaw-kôn about a hundred "tas" to the east of the town; Wungyi Paya Rôn Palat with 10,000 men to fix his camp at Kyetthandaing pagoda, also about a hundred "tas" to the north-east of the town; Pya Disho[2] with 5,000 men was stationed at Sankyè In[3] to the north of the town; the Governors of Pyatbi[4] and Kanpuri[5] with 10,000 men were quartered at Kyetsabyin to the south of the town. The King's father-in-law Paya Run Parat and Binnya Sein with 15,000 men were inside the town, all the gates of which were guarded by the Siamese. There must have been some Burmese forces in the town, probably doing garrison duty, at the time when the Burmese governor turned traitor. These forces who had willingly or unwillingly turned against their King were divided into small groups and distributed among the Siamese forces outside. Thus 1,700 men with Nga Ba U at their head were with the Governors of Pyatbi and Kanpuri; 1,000 men with Nga Te and Awlènat as leaders were with Paya Kalahôn; and 500 men led by the Kyaukmawza were with Paya Rôn Palat. A force by water was also organized by means of a number of sea-going boats manned by Siamese, Talaings, and Tavoyans (people of Tavoy or Dawè). Paya Peikthalôk, the Siamese heir apparent, was despatched with a force of 20,000 men to invest Byeik (Mergui).

[1] พระยากระดาโหม [2] พระยาเดโช หรือ พระยาศรีราชเดโช

[3] Literally means "wonderful lake"

[4] เพชรบุรี [5] กาญจนบุรี

The Burmese flotilla under Nemyo Gônnarat Kyawthu arrived at Dawè. They met the Siamese flotilla and engaged them in fight. The Siamese were defeated, losing many boats and men. The Burmese then anchored round Hintha [1] Island to the south-west of the town. The other two Burmese flotillas arrived at a place called Maungmagan, where the forces landed safely and encamped at Kinmya to the north-west of the town. The land forces under Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu also arrived about the same time, and the commander-in-chief stationed himself at Kamyaw, from which place he directed the operations. He sent a portion of his forces with Kin-U Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan in command to encamp at Kyauktaung to the north of the town. A detachment of 7 regiments containing about 3000 men was sent from this camp to cross over to the east bank of the (Dawè) river to obtain a foothold there, but this step was opposed by the Siamese who attacked the Burmese with a force of about 10,000 men directed by twenty officers whose rank entitled them to the use of a red umbrella, and commanded by the Governor of Kanpuri. The Burmese showed fight in spite of the disparity in numbers. But before there could have been any serious fighting, the Siamese were unfortunate in getting their commander, the Governor of Kanpuri, disabled by a musket shot from the Burmese; about four or five Siamese officers fell about the same time. On this, the Siamese withdrew, enabling the Burmese to effect what they wanted to do. Then Binnya Sein in company with Nga Myat Pyu, the rebel governor, built an earthen redoubt on one side of Zaya stream and took up their position with a force of 10,000 men composed of Siamese, Talaings, Tavoyans, and Burmese. The Burmese organized a storming party of 6000 muskets, supported by 200 horse of Kathè cavalry. A bridge was thrown across the stream and the redoubt was stormed with such success that Binnya Sein's composite forces were put to rout. The Burmese secured many prisoners and there were many killed also. They followed up their success by attacking Paya Disho's camp at Sankyè In, where there were about thirty regiments [2] of Siamese. Here also, the Burmese

1 Means "Hamsa bird."

2 It is stated above that Paya Disho had 5000 men.

were quite successful, the Siamese being again put to rout. It was only after these two successes that the Burmese were able to encamp close to the town on the north side. The Burmese flotilla of boats anchored at Hintha Island tried to approach the town, probably to effect a landing, but the Siamese successfully resisted the approach by heavy guns from the bank of the river and the walls of the town on its western face. The Burmese flotilla then went farther south and effected a landing, probably out of reach of the guns. They attacked the Siamese at Kyetsabyin, but were repulsed and had to retire to their boats and return to their old anchorage. About three days later another attempt was made with a picked force of over 5000 musketeers. They were successful in dislodging the enemy from their position, but owing to the fact that the Siamese had reserves within easy reach which could be summoned to render assistance, whereas they themselves had to employ their boats as their base, they could not maintain the position gained and it was re-occupied by the Siamese.

On the 13th of waning Nadaw (December) a Tavoyan brought a letter to the camp of Kin-U Bo Letya Thiha Thingyan to the effect that Nga Ba Tun, Nga Ba San, Nga Ba Hla and four others would rise against the Siamese, and they invited the Burmese to storm the town simultaneously; that on the day the Burmese would assail the town, they were to hoist a flag from the Luthaza[1] Island, and the conspirators in the town would show a light at night in response, if the plans went well, and as soon as the light was seen the attack was to be launched at once. The matter was reported to Einshe Wun Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu, the commander-in-chief on the spot, who ordered that the flag should be hoisted the very next day and the town stormed that night. On the 14th of waning Nadaw a flag was hoisted from Luthaza Island, but the Burmese failed to see any light that night from the town according to their preconcerted arrangement. Though fully prepared for it the attack was not made. The next morning the Burmese made a ghastly discovery of the cause of the miscarriage of their plans, for with the flood tide, there floated up-stream a raft made of trunks

1 Means "to eat human flesh." The island in question was probably inhabited by cannibal savage tribes.

of plantain trees: on it were the corpses of seven men and a placard on which were written the words: "Behold your conspirators whom we have done to death". Apparently the Siamese in the town found out the plot to start a rising in the town simultaneously with the storming from outside. The ring-leaders were surprised while preparing to show the preconcerted light and forthwith executed.

For about three months, from Tazaungmôn (November) to Pyatho (January), the Burmese had been sending shells into the town, causing many casualities among the Siamese and the civil population. To do this, they had to construct raised platforms and mount guns on them. After three or four heavy bombardments, His Siamese Majesty said that it was very likely that the Burmese Crown Prince would not return until he had succeeded in retaking the town; that reinforcements would certainly be sent to attain that object; and moreover, the Siamese forces on the north, the south, and the west sides of the town had been obliged to withdraw. He therefore decided to give up the campaign and return, but in doing so, he would take with him all the inhabitants of the town both men and women. Knowing human nature too well, he resorted to an artifice to get hold of the inhabitants. He knew that it was against human nature for people to leave their native land with a light heart, and also, that family ties and love for one's wife and children, mother and sisters, could overcome this natural reluctance to leave the land of one's birth. Further, His Siamese Majesty apprehended the danger of a union between the Burmese forces and the native population, if any coercive measures were adopted. Therefore his plan was to secure first all the women by an artifice. He accordingly ordered his father-in-law Paya Run Parat and Binnya Sein that all the women both inside and outside the town should be summoned to go to the landing place at Thitkanet, ostensibly for the purpose of carrying rice into the town. However, the leading Tavoyans and some Burmese, Talaing, and Shan military and civil officers were not to be outwitted; they knew or suspected the real intentions of the Siamese. Having made a compact among themselves, they sent one Nga Zeya to the Burmese camp; requesting the Burmese to make a vigorous assault that very

night, promising that they would fall upon the Siamese in the town at the same time. Nga Zeya swam across the river and arrived at a Burmese encampment under the command of Natmilin.[1] He was taken to the camp of Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu, who, having learned the contents of the letter, issued orders that the town must be taken that night at any cost, and those who did not succeed in getting into the town would be executed. These orders were conveyed to every regiment. Thus on the night of the 1st of waning Pyatho (January) Dawè town was vigorously assailed by all the Burmese forces from outside; while inside it, the Tavoyans, Burmans, Talaings, and Shans who were in the plot fell upon the Siamese and opened all the gates of the town. There was a severe hand to hand fight, and the Siamese lost heavily in this mêlée. The commanders Paya Run Parat and Binnya Sein succeeded in making their escape with a portion of their forces. When Paya Kalahôn, Paya Rôn Palat, Paya Disho, and the Governor of Kanpuri knew that very night that the Siamese forces inside the the town had been obliged to leave it with all haste, they withdrew their forces before dawn. With the first rays of dawn, the Burmese went in pursuit of the retreating Siamese, and they succeeded in securing the heads of Paya Kalahôn,[2] and the Ye Wun (Minister of Water-Ways), and the Thenat Wun (Minister of Fire-arms). His Siamese Majesty, who was at Thitkanet, also made a hasty retreat. The Siamese losses both in killed and captured were said to be very heavy. Nga Myat Pyu, the rebel governor of Dawè, also escaped and probably accompanied the Siamese forces. It was well that he managed to escape, otherwise he could not have possibly escaped the fate of being burned alive. The Burmese pursued the retreating Siamese only as far as Thitkanet camp, and then returned with the prisoners they captured during the pursuit.

The town of Byeik had been invested by the Siamese Crown Prince Paya Peikthalôk who shelled the town day and

[1] Siamese "นัดมแดง" ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๒๒๑

[2] Probably เจ้าพระยา มหาเสนา ดูพระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๒๒๒

night from a small hill called Shinpatit. The Burmese Governor Setya-u-chi was, however, able to hold on. After the retreat of the Siamese from Dawè, a land column under Nemyo Gônna Kyawthu and Upagaung, and a fleet of six ships under Akauk Wun Thiri Yaza Damarat, were sent to relieve Byeik. On their arrival, they attacked the investing forces vigorously. The Siamese Crown Prince then learnt that the Siamese had retreated from Dawè, and there was no other course open for him but to make a hasty retreat.

The Maha Upayaza, who was apparently comfortably quartered at Yangôn, hundreds of miles away from the actual scene of operations, took the whole credit of the success. He appointed a new governor to Dawè and detailed a force of 3000 musketeers to garrison the town and support the control of the civil authorities. After having made due arrangements for the proper administration of the towns of Byeik, Dawè, Ye, and other towns and villages in this eastern part of His Burman Majesty's territories, he started on his homeward journey on the 8th of waning Pyatho 1154 (January, A. D. 1793).

26724

SIR ARTHUR P. PHAYRE'S ACCOUNT OF THE SAME NARRATIVE.

Bodoahprâ commences religious buildings.

After this disgraceful campaign, the king was consoled by an embassy from the Emperor of China. A Burmese envoy accompanied the Chinese ambassador on his return; and this was considered the first establishment of friendly relations with the elder brother, since the succession of the house of Alaunghprâ. For some years there was a lull in warfare. Bodoahprâ's martial ardour had received a severe check. He now determined to show his religious zeal by raising a pagoda which should surpass in bulk, if not in beauty of design, all that had hitherto been accomplished in the buildings of the world of Buddhism. The site of this huge fabric of brick and mortar was selected at a spot, since called Mengun, a few miles above the capital, on the western bank of the river. The foundation was laid by the king himself with great

November, A.D. 1790.

ceremony. He had a temporary palace erected in the vicinity, in order that he might see to the work, and acquire the more religious merit by personally assisting therein. He made his eldest son his deputy for the transaction of ordinary affairs, and lived for some years in the temporary palace, but returned to the capital on some occas-

September, A.D. 1795.

sions. He came into Amarapura to grant audience to Colonel M. Symes, envoy from the Governor-

February, A.D. 1797.

General of India; but he received Captain H. Cox at Mengun. The lower storey of the pagoda had several chambers for containing holy relics, and objects of value or supposed rarity, the offering of which would be esteemed an act of devotion. The principal chamber had an area of ten cubits square and seven cubits in height. It was lined with lead, and was filled with a number of articles, valuable

and paltry, after which a metal lid, covering all, was sealed up. It is probable that from the main chamber and the others, which formed large cavities in the structure, not having been built with arched ceilings, and the masonry being of inferior quality, was the cause of the collapse of the building during a severe earthquake some years later. After this great pile had occupied the work of many years it was abandoned, although it had been carried up only to about one-third of the intended height, which was to have been about five hundred feet. The bell which was cast to match this immense fabric still exists, and weighs about eighty tons. It is supposed that the great discontent throughout the country, consequent on the vast number of men pressed to labour on the work, was the reason why it was abandoned. The warning conveyed by the fate of the last king of Pugân in the thirteenth century, of whose proceedings in a similar undertaking a saying arose, "The pagoda is finished and the country is ruined," made even Bodoahprâ pause. He enjoys the dubious fame of having left a ruin which is pronounced by Colonel Yule to be one of the hugest masses of brick and mortar in the world.

The work at Mengun, peaceful in name, but hateful to the people, was interrupted by the news from Pegu that the governors of Martaban and Tavoy had rebelled, and that the latter had delivered up the town to the Siamese. A force of ten thousand men was hurriedly sent off from the city with Nêmyu Thengkharâ, who was appointed governor of Martaban, and Thetdoashê, commander-in-chief. Arrived at Martaban, a part of the force was sent on to Tavoy under the command of Mankyîdun. He found the town occupied by the Siamese, while outside, and strongly entrenched, were several corps

March, A.D. 1792.

commanded by the king's son and other members of the royal family. Mankyîdun, anxious to fulfil the expectations of his superiors, rashly made an attack on one of the entrenched positions, and failed. He was compelled to retreat, and returned with the remnant of his force to Martaban. He and four of his officers were afterwards executed. By this time large reinforcements under the Ainshêmeng, who fixed his headquarters at Rangun, had reached Martaban. They were sent on to the south by sea and land under Gunnerâp Kyoathu. With his superior force he retook Tavoy, and then marched on and relieved Mergui, which the Burmese governor had successfully held. The Siamese invaders having been expelled, the Ainshêmeng returned to the capital, a portion of the troops being left to guard the districts on the south-eastern frontier.

December, A.D. 1792.

IV.

King Bodawpaya was at Min-gun, superintending the building of the pagoda, when his son arrived on his return from the expedition to Dawè. The King was overjoyed at the success achieved, and as a reward, he assigned to the Maha Upayaza the power to appoint Chiefs of dependent states, Sawbwas, Governors, and other principal officers of state. Such a power was jealously held by the reigning sovereign and very rarely entrusted to any other person, not even to the heir apparent himself. The administration of the affairs of the kingdom, secular and ecclesiastical, local and foreign, was also entrusted to the Maha Upayaza, while His Majesty devoted the whole of his attention to the raising of the huge pile of brick and mortar.

The Burmese are, from olden days, very fond of decorating the entrances to their pagodas with figures of leogryphs. In pursuance of this national fondness, King Bodawpaya erected two colossal leogryhs[1] in brick, overlooking the river, on the eastern face of the pagoda. He had to make their size sufficiently great to be in keeping with the intended size of the pagoda. According to Hmannan history they were sixty cubits high, (about one hundred feet).

The Min-gun pagoda had been gradually rising in height, and twenty-one chambers had been constructed for the reception of relics. In addition to these twenty-one relic chambers built by human hands, Hmannan history records that two other chambers were mysteriously fashioned by the "nats" (spiritual beings). As a preliminary to the enshrining of relics in these chambers, offerings of the eight requisites of a monk were made to two thousand Buddhist monks daily, for a period of forty days. Then on the 15th of waxing Tabaung 1158 (March A. D. 1797), these relic chambers were filled with a miscellaneous collection of relics, images of Buddhas, miniature pagodas, statuettes of kings, queens, princes, princesses, etc.[2] A complete inventory of the articles deposited in the chambers is

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] See Appendix III. A summary of the articles deposited is given in Sir George Scott's Gazetteer of Upper Burma and Shan States, Part II, Vol. II, page 316.

given in the Hmannan history and occupies thirteen pages of print. Mention may be made here of three of the relics deposited, namely:—two gold images of Buddha Dibingaya (Dīpaṅkarā), one weighing 780 ticals, and the other 425 ticals, brought from Yodaya, and one gold image of Buddha weighing 1485 ticals, brought from Zinmè. The gold of these images is said to be of the Zabuyit (Jambūrāj) kind,[1] the finest gold.

In the year 1159 (A. D. 1797) about ten years after his first unsuccessful expedition to Chiengmai, King Bodawpaya again directed his attention to Chiengmai. Kawila, who had successfully defended the town of Pa-thin against the Burmese some ten years ago, had made himself master of Zinmè. A feeling of injured pride must probably have been rankling in His Burman Majesty's breast against Kawila for having baulked his plan of conquest and defied his might. Therefore he ordered an expedition against Zinmè,[2] and the following were the forces despatched:—11 regiments containing 5,500 men under the command of Nemyo Kyawgaung; 11 regiments of the same strength under Nemyo Yègaung Nawrata; 11 regiments under Upagaung, 11 regiments under Nemyo Kyawdinthiha, 11 regiments under Mingyi Thinkaya, and 14 regiments under Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin; the strength of these regiments was 500 men each. The commander-in-chief (Burmese Bo-gyôk) was Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu who had 27 regiments containing 15,000 men under his direct command. Among the 27 regiments under him were 16 Shan contingents from the following Shan Chiefs and Governors, namely the Sawbwas of (1) Theinni,[3] (2) Thibaw,[4] (3) Nyaung Ywe, (4) Kyaing Tôn, (5) Kyaing Chaing; the governors of (6) Kyaing Taung, (7) Maing Seik, (8) Nan Kôt, (9) Maing Kaing, (10) Tabet, (11) Naung Mun (12) Maing Pun, (13) Baw Hnin, (14) Maing Nyaung, (15) Maing Pu, and (16) Kyaing Thin Nakwa. There were altogether 96 regi-

[1] For an account of this kind of gold see Hardy's "Manual of Buddhism," page 19, (edition 1853).

[2] ดู พระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ หน้า ๒๗๖

[3] แสนหวี [4] ตี่ป่อ

ments with a total 55,000 men. In addition to the infantry force, the presence of cavalry 5,000 strong, is also mentioned. Very probably the Shan contingents were picked up on the way. This army left the Burmese capital on the 10th of waxing Tazaungmôn 1159 (November A.D. 1797), to march to Zinmè via Monè. When it reached Monè the following four commanders, viz Nemyo Kyawgaung, Nemyo Yègaung Nawrata, Upagaung, and Nemyo Kyawdin Thiha, each with their charge of 11 regiments, were despatched ahead to secure all the provisions available round about Zinmè. Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin with the 14 regiments under his command was detailed to march to Zinmè via Maing Hin; and Mingyi Thinkaya with his 11 regiments had to march through Maing Pan. The commander-in-chief himself marched to Maing Thwin with his 27 regiments. On arrival at this place he received a report from the detachment of 44 regiments sent to secure provisions, that all the available provisions from Takan Banthan, Ban Naung Winpaw, Labôn, Pa-thin, Maing Yungyi and other towns and villages round Zinmè had been seized. He then hurried his march to Zinmè and awaited the arrival of all the different detachments sent out. When all had arrived, Zinmè was completely surrounded by the Burmese troops. On the 7th of waxing Tabodwè (February) five Burmese regiments attacked and captured the small town called Pye situated on the southern face of the town of Zinmè; it was probably an outpost of the defenders. But the very next day Kawila, who was defending the town, came out by the eastern gate of it and drove the Burmese out of their captured position. About three or four days later the Burmese again attacked and captured it.

With a view of arresting any troops which the Siamese might send up to assist the northern provinces a force of 11 regiments containing 10,000 men under Nemyo Kyawgaung was stationed at Pa-thin. From that place a detachment of 5 regiments containing 3,000 men was sent to reconnoitre as far as Maing Thin, with orders to seize everything possible on the way. At Maing Thin they were met by a Siamese army of 40,000 or 50,000 men under the command of the Siamese Crown Prince. There was an engagement in which the Burmese were defeated and forced to retire. A report of this defeat was sent to Bò-gyôk Nemyo

Kyawdin Thihathu, and he at once despatched a force of over 10,000 men to Labòn to stop the Siamese army from further advance. The Siamese Crown Prince did not march to Pa-thin but turning to the east went on to Labòn and attacked the Burmese there. Nemyo Kyawgaung withdrew his 10,000 men from Pa-thin and joined the forces at Labòn. A force of 4 regiments containing 3,000 men was withdrawn from the forces investing Zinmè and sent to reinforce the force at Labòn. The Siamese were also reinforced by many fresh arrivals of troops. The Burmese at Labòn could not withstand the attack of the Siamese and were forced to retire to Zinmè. On the way from Labòn to Zinmè they kept 2,000 men concealed on either side of the the road to ambush the Siamese army. About eight days after the Burmese had withdrawn from Labòn, the Siamese Crown Prince left the town, but instead of marching by the ordinary road, he went farther east making a new road for himself by using his elephant corps to trample down the "Kaing" or elephant grass in front of his infantry. Then after crossing the Mè Kaung river,[1] he encamped in a forest grove near a big monastery about two miles to the south of Zinmè town. The Burmese tempted the Siamese to come out to the open, but for seven days the Siamese would not show fight, and remained where they were, making preparations. The Burmese, in the meantime, threw up earth-works and held the line of march of the Siamese to Zinmè. On the 15th of waxing Tagu (April) the whole of the Siamese army left their camp, carried all the earth-works on the way, and after breaking through the investing forces on the south side entered the town. Then the combined Siamese and Chieng-mai forces attacked the Burmese so vigorously that they were practically put to rout, one column retreating by way of Maing Pan and another column by way of Maing Thwin. Bo-gyôk Nemyo Kyawdin Thihathu, who went through Maing Thwin, halted at Kyaing Thin and re-assembled his scattered forces. Mingyi Nanda Kyawdin halted at Maing Hin to re-assemble his scattered men and retired to Maing Pan. During this retreat commander Nemyo Kyawdinthiha was killed by a musket shot from the enemy.

[1] แม่กวง ?

With the intention of attacking the Siamese in the rear while they were still resting in the wood, commander Upagaung[1] took with him a small force of 1000 men and 100 horse through a wood to the rear of the Siamese. He and his men were cut off from the rest when the Burmese forces retreated, apparently in precipitate haste, and this small band of Burmese was captured by the Siamese. The defeat of the Burmese must have been a signal and crushing one, as His Burman Majesty thought fit to recall his army to the capital. Thus Bodawpaya's second attempt to bring Zinmè under his sway fared even worse than the first. It is noticeable that the military skill of the Siamese had greatly improved and they had by that time gained a decided ascendency in the Lao provinces.

A record is found in the Hmannan history that on the 7th of waxing Tabodwè 1168 (February A.D. 1807) there arrived at the Court of Burma, ambassadors from Yodaya with many valuable presents and a royal letter. The ambassadors were received at the temporary palace at Min-gun. The names of the ambassadors or the contents of the royal letter were not given in the Hmannan history. Neither was it stated that the compliment was returned by the despatch of a Burmese embassy to the Court of Siam. Very probably the Siamese embassy was treated with scant ceremony, in much the same way as the envoys from the Governor-General of India were treated by King Bodawpaya.

On the 14th of waxing Tagu 1170 (April A.D. 1808) the Crown Prince who enjoyed the title of Thiri Maha Damabizaya Thihathura (Sīri mahā dhammābhijaya sīhasūra) died. He was born on Monday the 9th of waning Nayôn 1124 (June A. D. 1762); at the age of 20 years and 5 months he was married to his half sister, Thiri Tilawka Maha Badda Thuratana Dewi (Sīri .ilaka mahābhadda suratana devī), and at the same time created Einshemin or Crown Prince. Seven days after the death of the Crown Prince, his son, the Prince of Sagaing, was appointed Einshemin.

To match his great pagoda King Bodawpaya cast a big bell[2]

[1] The capture of this commander by the Siamese is mentioned in the Siamese history (พระราชพงษาวดาร เล่ม ๓ น่า ๒๗๖)

[2] See Appendix III.

on the 5th of waxing Kasôn 1170 (May A.D. 1808); the dimensions of it as given in the history are:—diameter at the mouth eleven and one-sixth cubits; circumference thirty-three cubits and a half; depth thirteen cubits and a half. Fifty-five thousand five hundred and fifty-five viss of bronze is said to have been used in casting it. The casting was done on an island in the river opposite Min-gun where His Majesty had built his temporary residence. No little ingenuity was displayed in the way in which the huge bell was conveyed from the place where it was cast to the place where it was to be put up on the north side of the pagoda. The earth under the bell was excavated to allow of the building abreast of two big barges twenty fathoms in length; when the two barges were completed a platform was laid across them. Then a canal of sufficient width to allow the free passage of the two barges, was dug from under the barges to the river, and another similar canal from the bank of the river to where the bell was to be hung. During the rains when the river was quite full, the water level was high enough to fill the canals. The bell was then lowered on to the platform on the barges, the buoyancy of which was sufficient to maintain the weight of the bell. The barges were towed to the destination of the bell which was afterwards hung up.

On the 13th of waxing Nayôn 1181 (June A. D. 1819) King Bodawpaya died, at the age of seventy-five years and two months, having reigned thirty-seven years and four months, the longest reign among the eleven kings of the dynasty of Alaungpaya. The character ascribed to him by Father Sangermano[1] erred on the

[1] "Although despotism in its worst form constitutes, as it were, the very essence of the Burmese monarchy, so that to be called its king is equivalent to being called a tyrant; still has Badonsachen, (that is "Badôn Thakin" or Badôn Prince, the name by which King Bodawpaya was known when still a prince), the despot who for the last twenty-seven years has governed this kingdom, so far outstripped his predecessors in barbarity and pride, that whoso but hears it must shudder with horror. His very countenance is the index of a mind ferocious and inhuman in the highest degree, and what has above been related of him, as well as some more facts to be brought forward, will show that it does not deceive. Immense is the number of those whom he has sacrificed to his ambition

side of severity. In spite of his many faults, he was, on the whole, a good administrator, and carried out many works of public utility, such as the improvement of existing irrigation works. He was a patron of learning and literature, and during his reign many learned Brahmans from India were invited to come to Burma and were offered appointments in his Court; by their aid many Sanskrit works were translated into Burmese.

King Bodawpaya had a numerous family, 61 sons and 61 daughters being born to him: he had 102 grandsons, 106 grand-daughters, 30 great grandsons, and 51 great grand-daughters.

King Bodawpaya was succeeded by his grandson, the Prince of Sagaing, who, on ascending the throne, assumed the title of Thiri Pawara Thudama Mahayazadiyaza (Sīri pavara sudhamma mahā-rājādhirājā), but he is generally known as King Bagyidaw.

During his reign, the policy of his grandfather was followed, namely, that of aggression towards the west and extending the Burmese rule into the provinces of Manipur, Assam, Kachar, and Chittagong, with the natural consequence that the Burmese Government came into conflict with the British Indian Government, culminating in the first Anglo-Burmese war in A.D. 1824, by which the Burmese lost the provinces of Arakan on the west and of Ye, Moulmein, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim on the east.

Although greater attention was paid to making conquests of provinces in the west, King Bagyidaw did not forget Siam altogether. In the year 1183 (A.D. 1821), the thought of invading

upon the most trivial offences; and it would not be an exaggeration to assert that, during his reign, more victims have fallen by the hand of the executioner than by the sword of the common enemy. To this atrocious cruelty he has united a pride at once intolerable and impious. The good fortune which has attended him in discovering and defeating the numerous conspiracies which have been formed against him, has inspired him with the idea that he is something more than mortal, and that this privilege has been granted him on account of his numerous good works." ("The Burmese Empire, a hundred years ago." By Father Sangermano. Page 74. edition 1893.)

Yodaya entered King Bagyidaw's mind. His sole reason for the invasion was that Yodaya had once been completely conquered by King Sinbyushin, the city destroyed, and the royal family captured. Since then a new dynasty had sprung up and the state declared its independence; and that the king had not been reigning justly, whereby the population, both monks and laymen, found no peace and happiness. He said that whenever a king intended to invade another's territory, it was usual to get provisions ready and to mobilize as big an army of elephants, horses, and men as possible. Therefore he ordered Wungyi Maha Thenapadi with Mingyi Nawrata as his assistant to mobilize men from all the towns along the Eyawadi (Irrawady) river below the town of Pyi (Prome), and in the southern provinces. The Wungyi was also ordered to requisition provisions and get them collected at convenient stations. He and his staff arrived at Môttama in due course, and they sent out spies to get information of the affairs in Siam. Provisions were collected at convenient places on the lines of march. A report of the preparations made was sent to the capital, but notwithstanding what had already been done towards the intended invasion, the Wungyi and his staff were recalled, and they arrived at the capital in Pyatho 1183 (January A.D. 1822). It is very probable that the Burmese found out that the Siamese were quite on the alert and fully prepared not only to meet them but also to give them a crushing defeat. Moreover, the relations between the Burmese and the British Governments were getting more and more strained and King Bagyidaw must have foreseen war with the British.

On the return of Wungyi Maha Thenapadi from Môttama, he was accompanied by the envoys sent by the Yungyi Min Mashakat Min,[1] who had arrived at Môttama on a mission to the Court of Burma. A party of ministers and nobles was sent as far as Sagaing to welcome the envoys. On the 12th of waning Pyatho

1 Mashakat is probably the name of the chief city of the country inhabited by people whom the Burmese called Yungyi. If so, the envoys came from the Ruler or Governor of Mashakat, Chief of the Yungyi people.

The affix "gyi" in "Yungyi" means great. Therefore "Yungyi" means great Yun. I am at a loss to know to which country and people the Burmese historians were referring.—Thien.

(January) these envoys were accorded an audience by His Burman Majesty, when the presents sent by the Mashakat Min were formally presented. Subsequently they were given an opportunity of viewing His Majesty's state procession on the river. After they had been entertained with the spectacular effect of the procession, they were taken on to one of the state canoes in the procession, which then proceeded up the Myitngè river. When it reached a royal garden called Maha Thiri Nandawun, they were sent back on elephants to their temporary residence.

In the meanwhile the Burmese officials must have become suspicious that the envoys were, in reality, spies sent by the Siamese. The two principal officers of the embassy, whose names were Katwelan and Duhatpyein, were subjected to close examination. The statement made by them was as follows :—Before the death of the father of the present Yungyi Chief, information was received that His Burman Majesty was sending an expedition to their country, and consequently, the deceased Chief left instructions before he died that his son should acknowledge the Burmese Monarch as suzerain. About a year after the present Chief had succeeded his father, the ministers, in pursuance of the deceased Chief's instructions, selected men who would be able to travel to the Burmese Court. These men were attached to them as guides and they were sent on this mission which was a preliminary one to the formal submission of the letter from the Chief acknowledging the suzerainty of Burma. They were given a ship and an escort of twenty men. The mission set sail on the 7th of waning Pyatho 1182 (January A.D. 1821) and after calling at the towns of Radônnaing and Kyaukpyu, and the island of Malaka (Malacca), it reached Palawpinan (Penang) in forty-three days. At Palawpinan, they met a Chinaman who was in charge of the birds-nest islands and whose Burmese official title was Thiwa Kyawthu Nawrata. This man showed them the royal letters-patent conferring on him the title and appointing him to the charge of the islands, and also other insignia of his rank and office. On being told the object of the mission, he offered to accompany it as far as Môttama. This town was reached after seventeen days' sailing. The statement made by these two principal envoys seemed to have satisfied the

Burmese officials and allayed their suspicions; the members of the embassy were again accorded an audience on the 9th of waning Kasôn 1184 (May A.D. 1822), being the time of the festivities in connection with the new year ceremony of paying homage to the King. After the audience the two principal envoys were very handsomely rewarded by His Burman Majesty; the other members of the embassy also received suitable rewards.

A return embassy was sent to the Yungyi country, the members of the embassy being composed of Nemyo Tazaung as chief, and Thiri Seinta Nawrata, Theikdi Nawrata, and Seinta Thiri Harat. Thiwa Kyawthu Nawrata, the Chinese superintendent of birds-nest islands, was ordered to accompany Nemyo Tazaung as joint ambassador. Wungyi Thado Minhla Nawrata who was at Hanthawadi, probably as governor, and the Ye Wun (Commissioner of Waterways) and the Akauk Wun (Commissioner of Customs) were ordered to furnish the embassy with two ships, arms and ammunition for protection on the way, as well as provisions and money sufficient for the journey to and fro. Many valuable presents in the form of ruby and sapphire rings and other articles made in Burma and also some produce of Burma such as jade stone and earth-oil were sent for the Yungyi Min. The embassy left the Burmese capital by boat on the 3rd of waning Tawthalin 1184 (September A. D. 1822). Nothing is mentioned again in the history about this mission, not even that it actually left the shores of Burma.

About this time, Burmese influence in the small states adjoining Burma on the west was very great and they were practically masters of Manipur and Assam. Not content with this they wanted to conquer Cachar also, and their ambition to extend their dominions towards the frontier of Bengal was the cause of the declaration of war by the British on the 5th of March 1824. The Burmese offered a stout resistance, but superior skill and far superior military weapons prevailed, and they were at last obliged to cede to the British the provinces of Arakan, Ye, Martaban, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim. The treaty of peace signed at a place called Yandabo on the 24th of February 1826, contained eleven conditions, the tenth condition of which was "That the good.

and faithful ally of the British, the King of Siam, should, to the fullest extent, be included in this treaty."[1]

After the British had taken possession of the Burmese provinces bordering on Siam, the intercourse, mostly warlike, between Burma and Siam was put a stop to, because the principal routes for the irruption of the Burmese into Siam were all in the hands of the British who were on very friendly relations with the Siamese. One other principal route still remained open, namely that through the Shan States, via Monè and Chiengmai. But by about the time of the first Anglo-Burmese war the Burmese monarchy was beginning to decline, while that of the Siamese had risen greatly in power and efficiency, so that Siamese influence over the northern provinces of the Laos was almost paramount. Any Burmese invasion from the north would have met with a stout resistance from the local people and the Siamese would have been able to send up a fairly large force to repel any invading army. Moreover, Burma was, during the sixty years succeeding the first Anglo-Burmese war, so much troubled with internal affairs, and disputes with the British authorities, that it had no time to think of conquests elsewhere.

[1] The literal translation of this condition given in the Hmannan history is: "The King of Yodaya who has formed a friendly alliance with the British Government, and who has rendered military assistance on the side of the British, should be regarded as being included in this treaty of friendship now being executed."

APPENDIX I.

(Extracted from the Journal of the Burma Research Society, Vol. VI, Part III., pages 225-229).

THE STORY OF MAHAMUNI.

The great outstanding feature in the history of Arakan is the account of Buddha's sojourn in this country and of his supervision over the casting of his image. The story of His seven days' visit with five hundred Rahandas—His lengthy discourse pregnant with prophesy delivered on the top of the hill opposite the town of Kyauktaw—His journey into the city of Dynnyawaddi at the request of king Sanda Thurya—the casting of the image by men and and gods, have been very clearly set forth by the able researches of the late Dr. Forchammer and need hardly be mentioned again in the present sketch. The Mahamuni Tradition is the oldest of the kind we have. It permeates the whole religious history of Arakan and the images that at present sanctify a thousand temples and pagodas in this country are the replicas of the first great and only faithful copy of the Master.

Interesting as all these facts may appear there is however one great flaw which defies any attempt at reasonable explanation. King Sanda Thurya ascended the throne of Arakan in 146 A.D.—all available records are pretty well clear on this point. If we take 483 B.C. as the date of Buddha's death there is a very large gap of over six hundred years between the two events, viz :—his sojourn in Arakan and his death at Kusinara. This is a very big thing to explain away and, judging from the extreme paucity of documents that treat of those far-away days, I am inclined to think that the problem is one likely to be added to the long list of unsolved riddles of the universe. It is true books belonging to this country have a fatal defect, that they represent facts and beliefs at the time they were written, or acquired the form in which we now find them, without much reference to facts at the time at which they are supposed to have happened. Besides this, Burmese books especially

bear unmistakable signs of being treated, that is to say, they often take up an important event, enlarge upon it, and then relate how it was prophesied—generally by Buddha—many centuries before.

In spite of these adverse peculiarities of the East I entirely agree with the learned Doctor that the Mahamuni Tradition is not an after-thought. It is genuinely old and was implicitly believed in by successive generations that came after it. Kings of Arakan, even after they had shifted their capitals to various other places, always recognised it as a sacred duty to visit it from time to time and generally made it the occasion for great religious feasts of charity. In such cases they invariably left some votive offering, may be a small shrine or an image, as a memento of their distinguished visit. On the other hand it is not my purpose here to try and reconcile this great discrepancy in time as I am convinced of the utter futility of the task. The very fact that neither Buddha nor any of his five hundred Rahandas who accompanied him into Arakan ever made mention of this unique event in the many subsequent discourses delivered in India is sufficient to tempt one to lay down the pen so far as this point is concerned.

My scheme in the present work is simply to trace the history of this famous image from the time of its installation on a small hill close to the ancient city of Dynnyawaddi till it was finally carried away to Mandalay by Bodawpaya of Burma. So this is really a continuation of the story begun by Forchammer but in which I propose dealing with principal events only. After the sacred image was finished and suitably installed it was allowed to remain undisturbed for a period of over nine centuries. During that time it became the religious centre of the kingdom and all its neighbouring states. Its fame spread far and wide and it so worked on the envy of the Burmans that much of the early wars between these two peoples were actuated by the sole desire on the part of Burmese kings to remove the image into their country.*

* As an instance of this it may here be mentioned that in the early years of the 11th century Anoaratha-minzaw of Pugán or Pagan invaded Arakan with the intention of carrying away this image. Luckily then through some mysterious cause he was compelled to abandon the project.

In 1078 A. D. Min Bhi-lu of Arakan was killed by a noble who usurped the throne. Min Re-baya the heir apparent fled with his family and took shelter at the court of Kyansit-tha of Pagan. The fugitive princes remained in exile for twenty-five years during which time a son was born to Min Re-baya and is known in history as Let-ya-min-nan. It is true that Kyansit-tha promised to restore the royal fugitive to the Arakanese throne but the lack of suitable opportunity prevented that monarch from redeeming his promise. On the death of Min Re-baya, Alaung-si-thu, who had already succeeded his grandfather, determined to place Let-ya-min-nan on the throne of Arakan. To carry out this object he sent 100,000 Pyus and an equal number of Talaings both by land and sea into Arakan. There was some show of stubborn resistance at first, which the more disciplined troops of Burma gradually but surely overcame. Thus Let-ya-min-nan came unto his own in 1103 A. D. and as the Pyus were instrumental in bringing this about he is also known to the Arakanese as Pyu Tathein-min (the king created by the 100,000 Pyus). When these soldiers had accomplished their task and just on the eve of their departure for Burma they visited the shrine of Mahamuni. There they found it so richly stored with gems and gold that, overcoming all religious scruples, they began to despoil the temple of all its vast wealth. From the image itself the Pyus scooped out the greater portion of the back, the Talaings cut off the whole right leg and carried away these treasures into their country—a distinct fulfilment of Gotama's dicta.

When Let-ya-min-nan came to Arakan the capital was Ping-tsa. On his astrologers advising him that the city was no longer fit for occupation because all its good fortune had departed, he founded the new city of Parin. Fifty years after this, Da-tha-raza ascended the throne. The new king was powerful and just and the country enjoyed general peace and prosperity. Following the example of all pious kings who went before him he decided to visit Mahamuni. His ministers were sent in advance to make the necessary preparations for his stay there. But they returned with the information that the temple could not be found. He then entrusted these men with his personal jewels and instructed them

to give (these) away as reward to any person or persons who could direct them to the sacred spot. After much trouble and by the assistance of two Mros they found the place—the men being rewarded as ordered by the king. When the news of the discovery reached the royal ears he immediately set out for the place with his entire court. The image was found in the ground buried up to the neck. The right leg and the greater part of the back were missing. The shrine was completely destroyed by fire. The king at once saw the exposed nature of the place. He knew that its general isolation among the hills was the too frequent cause of the shrine being desecrated by the wild hill tribes who made periodic visits of plunder into these parts. He therefore conveyed the image by water into the ancient city of Dinnyawaddy. The chronicles tell us that invitations were then issued to all the neighbouring kings and princes to visit Arakan and share with him the supreme merit to be acquired by undertaking the entire repairs of the most sacred image and shrine. The gathering of ruling princes was a representative one. First they repaired the image itself by supplying the missing parts. Then they erected the shrine on which were lavished all the skill, energy, and resources they could command. In the building of the surrounding walls the work was proportionately divided between the different races that were present. Thus some were asked to carry out the work on the east of the shrine, some to the south, and so on. The temple and the walls were decorated with exquisite carving. The latter contained human figures representing all the races of the earth. There is no doubt about it that this second building of Mahamuni was a great historic event. What little is left of it at the present day amply proves it. The spot selected was a small hill at the north-east corner of the city. The nine kutis of treasure left buried by king Sanda Thurya was also unearthed, removed and buried again at the northern end of this hill. The stone slab placed on the mouth of the pit was so immense that a thousand men, say the chronicles, would not even be sufficient to shift it from the place. The whole thing was finished in seventy-one days.

Several races undertook to visit the temple once in every three months for the purpose of carrying out such minor repairs

as were considered necessary from time to time. But some of the tributary tribes were given definite work to perform and were required to always leave behind certain persons to guard the place. The details of the allotment of such specific duties were also recorded in stone tablets at the four cardinal points. These records no longer exist in their usual places though I am told they were there until quite recently, by an authority of no mean repute.

In the closing scene of its variegated history, Bodawpaya of Burma comes in—a fit character for a fit occasion. After his final conquest and so-called pacification—"solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant"—he directed the famous image to be conveyed into Burma. This was accomplished in the year 1785 A.D. The excess of patriotic fervour led some people a few years ago to declare that the real image was lost in the creek close to the site, in the course of its removal and that the soldiers fearing the king's wrath took away a substitute. Attractive as this version may appear to us Arakanese, everything that has any bearing on the history of this country proclaims the image that now adorns the Arakan pagoda at Mandalay to be the genuine one.

It will be seen that the present account deals with the principal events only. But it must not be supposed that during the long interval between these epochs the image and the shrine were allowed to remain in peace. The frontier tribes such as the Chins, the Mros, and the Sâks periodically descended from their mountain homes and harassed the kingdom whenever it was known that the ruler of the country was weak or incapable. On such occasions they always made it a point to visit the shrine and after taking away all the riches it contained they invariably set fire to it. Whenever this happened the then reigning king would forthwith rebuild it and make good the loss. In the chronicles this occurs with painful regularity.

What seems to me to be rather a curious fact is that even at the time of Da-tha-raza, towards the middle of the 12th century, this well-known temple and image could not be easily found. At the present day none of us have any idea of the original site

though the chronicles describe the place pretty clearly. I think there are two reasons to account for this. In the first, the names of hills and creeks in familiar use in those days are no longer employed now; and the daily occupation of all our time in western education and pursuits has so alienated our interests that it has become almost impossible for us to identify the old names with the present ones. Secondly, the abundant rainfall so favours the rapid growth of vegetation that a few years of neglect is sufficient to entirely cover up any structure with dense jungle. But whatever the true reason may be, it would be tremendously worth our while to discover this spot, as there is no knowing what interesting archaelogical finds we may come across.

SAN SHWE BU.

APPENDIX II.

(EXTRACTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY, VOL. VI, PART I., PAGES 19-20).

THE BRONZE FIGURES IN THE ARAKAN PAGODA, MANDALAY.

These consist of two figures of men, three of lions, and one of a three-headed elephant. The human figures are anatomatically perfect in expression, proportion, and in the representation of the muscles of the body and limbs. They wear necklets, armlets, and anklets and a scanty loin-cloth. The navel is deep and well-developed, and pilgrims afflicted with dyspepsia or other stomachic ailments insert their fingers into it and turn them about in a rotatory movement, so as to be cured of their affliction. Tradition says that, originally, the number of the human figures was thirty-three, corresponding to the number of *devas* in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven. The heads of the three lions have disappeared, and attempts, somewhat unsuccessful, have been made by the Pagoda Trustees to restore them. The most interesting figure in the collection is that of the three-headed elephant called "Erāvaṇṇa" or "Erāvata," the *vāhana* or riding animal of Indra or Thagyamin, the god of rain and the Lord of Tāvatiṁsa. The river Irrawaddy (Erāvatī), the noble waterway of Burma, is so called because it is supposed to flow out of one of the trunks of Indra's elephant.

These figures were brought over from Arakan in 1784 together with the Mahāmuni Image, when that country was conquered and annexed to the Burmese dominions by the Einyemingyi, the Heir-Apparent of King Bodawpaya (1781-1819). Only a year before, that is, in 1783, Amarapura, the "City of the Immortals," had been founded by the King, and he was supremely delighted to secure the sacred Image, which was the Palladium of the Arakanese race, to adorn as well as to protect his new capital. Exactly a century later, in 1884, during the reign of King Thibaw, the Arakan

Pagoda was burnt, presaging a national calamity, and the sacred Image as well as these bronze figures were consumed by fire. In November 1885, King Thibaw, the 11th of the Alompra dynasty, was dethroned by the British and his kingdom was incorporated in the British Empire.

A melancholy interest attaches to the history of this collection of figures, which are a silent witness to dynastic changes and futile ambitions of impotent Kings. In 1581, Bayin Naung, the Branginoco of European writers, who held his Court at Pegu, and whose power and magnificence have often been extolled, and who was the greatest of Burmese Rulers, died, leaving his throne to Nanda Bayin, who is known to Burmese Chroniclers as Ngāzudāyakā. He was a weakling compared with his father, and the Burmese Empire, the most extensive in Burmese Annals, fell to wreck and ruin, thereby nullifying the unification of the Burmese and Talaings under one Sovereign. The Kings of Toungoo and Arakan conspired to attack Pegu, which had been embellished and adorned by Branginoco in a most lavish manner. The city fell in 1596, and the spoils were shared by the conquerors, these bronze figures falling to the lot of Rāzāgyi, King of Arakan.

These figures were not cast at Pegu, but were brought away from Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, in 1564, by Branginoco, who had waged a successful war against that country. At the same time, the King of Siam and his queens and one son were taken captive to Ava, together with three of the white elephants, the demand for one of which by Branginoco had been the *casus belli* between the two countries of Pegu and Siam.

As Ayuthia was carved out of the Cambodian Empire in 1350, it is just possible that the Siamese received these bronze figures as an heirloom from the Cambodians, whose civilization, religion, and art were based on Indian systems.

It would thus appear that these bronze figures, during, at least, six centuries, have been the silent witnesses of the strange vicissitudes, and the kaleidoscopic turns of fortune of five races of mankind, namely, the Cambodians, Siamese, Talaings, Arakanese, and the Burmese, that they are the connecting links between the

present and a historic past, and like the Pyramids of Egypt, they still continue to look down on the ages still to come.

TAW SEIN KO.

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APPENDIX III.

EXTRACTED FROM THE NARRATIVE OF THE MISSION TO THE COURT OF AVA IN 1855. BY CAPTAIN HENRY YULE. EDITION 1858. PP. 169—172.

Ten miles above the capital (Amarapura) we landed, at Mengoon, to visit the extraordinary *Folly* of the King Men-tara-gyi, or Bodau Phya (the "Grandfather King"), as he is commonly called by the Burmese, the great grandfather of the reigning prince, and founder of Amarapoora.

This King, who died in 1819, after a rule of nearly forty years, spent twenty years of the earlier part of his reign in piling together this monstrous mass of bricks and mortar, employing on it the unpaid services of a vast number of his subjects, and an expenditure besides, it is said, of 10,000 viss of silver. Some say that it had been foretold to him that when the temple was finished his life would come to an end. But, in any case, he left it incomplete,[1] and the great earthquake of 1839 shattered it to the foundations.

1 In fact during the latter years of his reign the old King was, if not a disbeliever in Buddhist doctrine, at least most hostile to the priesthood, and the order had for some time scarcely any ostensible existence. He is said to have made the filthy suggestiveness of the numerous prohibitions in the Wini (Sansc. Vinaya), the book which regulates the life and conversation of the monks, a pretext for the suppression of the order.

It appears, however, from Padre Sangermano, that about the beginning of the century he abandoned his Palace and its fair inmates, retiring to Mengoon, with some idea of adopting the ascetic life, and getting himself acknowledged as the new Buddha. But the orthodoxy of the Poongyis was proof against all his arguments; he threw up his pretensions to Buddhahood, returned to his seraglio, and cherished a lasting hostility to the ecclesiastics. On his death the yellow robes rapidly effloresced again all over the country. (See Judson's Life, i. pp. 173, 191, etc. Sangermano's Burmese Empire, pp. 59, 90, etc.)

This ruin is doubtless one of the hugest masses of solid brickwork in the world. It stands on a basement of five successive terraces of little height, the lower terrace forming a square of about 450 feet. From the upper terrace starts up the vast cubical pile of the pagoda, a square of about 230 feet in plan, and rising to a height of more than 100 feet, with slightly sloping walls. Above this, it contracts in successive terraces, three of which had been completed, or nearly so, at the time the work was abandoned.

In one of the neighbouring groves is a miniature[1] of the structure (fig. 34), as it was intended to be. From this we see that the completed pile would have been little less than 500 feet high. The whole height of the ruin as it stands is about 165 feet from the ground, and the solid content must be between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of cubic feet of brickwork.

The fracture that has taken place is tremendous, and the effects of the earthquake are seen on a scale that rarely occurs. The whole mass is shattered, torn, and split. Masses of wall 100 feet in height, and from 10 to 20 in thickness, appear as if they had been bodily lifted from their bases, and heaved forward several feet. The angles have chiefly suffered, and these are fallen in a vast pile of ruin; blocks of coherent brickwork, as big as small houses, lying heaped in hideous confusion on one another.

Up among the loose bricks and fallen masses at the north-east angle, there is a practicable though not easy ascent. Reaching the top, you find the whole surface rent into prisms by yawning crevasses, like those (as my companion aptly suggested) of an Alpine glacier. A square projection, which rises in the centre above all, appears to be a detached pier descending, unconnected with the rest of the pile, the whole way to the ground. This, too, is thrown much off its perpendicular.

The whole thing is a perfect geological phenomenon.

Strange to say, many stacks of bricks still stand in place on the top, as they were left by the bricklayers, probably thirty years before the earthquake; part of the scaffolding which formed an

[1] This is the Pòndawpaya referred to in the Journal. Thien.

ascent in the middle of each of the four sides still makes a staggering attempt to hold on to the wall, tall teak masts, with fragmentary gangways attached, which kick their heels in empty air; and on the basement terraces great heaps of lime, ready for the work, have hardened into anomalous rocks, which will puzzle future geologists.

There is a doorway on each face, pedimented and pilastered in the Pagan style of architecture: but the cavity does not penetrate more than 14 or 15 feet.

This pagoda was in progress when Captain Hiram Cox was here as Envoy, 1797; and he gives a curious account of the manner in which the interior of the basement was formed for the reception of the dedicated treasures. A number of quadrangular pits or cells were formed in the brickwork for this purpose. These were all lined with plates of lead, and were roofed with *beams of lead* about five inches square. This precious engineering device for the support of a spire 500 feet high was one of his majesty's own conception, and perhaps may have given rise to various patched cracks in the brickwork, which are evidently of older date than the earthquake.[1] Rumours of the greatness of the deposited treasures are common among the Burmese;[2] but what Captain Cox tells us of them from personal observation is not confirmatory of these rumours. He speaks of plated models of kyoungs and pagodas; of others, said to be of solid gold, but which on examination proved "to be less valuable;" of marble images, trumpery gems, slabs of coloured glass, white umbrellas, and, last of all, of a *soda-water*

[1] These cracks are mentioned by Colonel Burney, who says the natives ascribed them to an earthquake which had taken place about fifteen years before his visit, i.e., about 1816. He also mentions what escaped our observation that the walls of the great cubical plinth appeared to have been banded by lines of iron or copper chain. (MS. Journal).

[2] The common tale goes, that 197 images of solid gold and silver, of Mentaragyi, his women, children, and relatives, each image being cast exactly of the weight of the person represented, were here deposited. (The same).

machine,[1] as among the consecrated valuables.

Overlooking the river, in front of the eastern face of the temple, stood two colossal leogryphs in brick. The heads and shoulders lie in shapeless masses round about, and only the huge haunches and tails remain in position, gigantically ludicrous. These figures were orginally 95 feet high, as Cox tells us, and each of the white marble eyeballs, intended for the monsters, measured 13 feet in circumference.[2]

North of the temple, on a low circular terrace, stands the biggest bell in Burma; the biggest in the world probably, Russia apart. It is slung on a triple beam of great size, cased and hooped with metal; this beam resting on two piers of brickwork, enclosing massive frames of teak. The bell does not now swing free. The supports were so much shaken by the earthquake, that it was found necessary to put props under the bell, consisting of blocks of wood carved into grotesque figures. Of course no tone can now be got out of it. But at any time it must have required a battering-ram to elicit its music.

Small ingots of silver (and some say pieces of gold) may still be traced, unmelted, in the mass, and from the inside one sees the curious way in which the makers tried to strengthen the part which suspend it by dropping into the upper part of the mould iron chains, round which the metal was run.

The Burmese report the bell to contain 555,555 viss of metal (about 900 tons). Its principal dimensions are as follows :—

1 "One of Dr. Priestley's machines for impregnating water with fixed air." (Cox's Journal of a Residence in the Burmhan Empire, p. 110).

2 "The sockets for the eyeballs are left vacant, and to place the eyeballs in them will require some exertion of mechanical ingenuity, which I should like to see." (Cox, p. 105.) The enterprise was actually too much for the Burmese, as we learn from Col. Burney, who saw the figures in 1831, some years before their destruction. The eyeballs had never been inserted.

	ft.	in.
External diameter at the lip	16	3
Internal diameter, 4ft. 8in. above the lip ...	10	—
Interior height	11	6
Exterior ditto	12	—
Interior diameter at top	8	6

The thickness of metal varies from six inches to twelve and the actual weight of the whole bell is, by a rough calculation, about eighty tons, or one-eleventh of the popular estimate. According to Mr. Howard Malcolm, whose authority was probably Colonel Burney, the weight is stated in the Royal Chronicle at 55,500 viss, or about ninety tons. This statement[1] is probably therefore genuine, and the popular fable merely a multiplication of it by ten

1 This monster Burmese bell is therefore fourteen times as heavy as the great bell of St. Paul's, but only one-third of that given by the Empress Anne to the Cathedral of Moscow. (See Pen. Cyc., Art. Bell).

REPORT OF COUNCIL.

Presented to the Annual General Meeting held on January 15th, 1918:—

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 12th March, 1914, when the President read a paper on "the unofficial Mission of John Morgan to Siam in 1821."

On the 28th May of the same year an ordinary general meeting was held to hear a paper by Dr. Highet on "Small-pox and Vaccination in Siam."

These two papers were published in Part I. of Vol. XI of the Journal of the Society, together with a short paper by Dr. A. F. G. Kerr, of Chiengmai, on "a Hybrid Dipterocarpus."

Subsequently an ordinary general meeting was held on June 23rd, 1915, when Mr. R. Adey Moore read a paper on an Early British Merchant in Bangkok. That was published in Part 2 of Vol. XI of the Journal, together with a translation by Dr. Frankfurter of the preface written by Prince Damrong to the Edition of the History issued by His Royal Highness.

In February, 1916, Part 3 of Vol. XI of the Journal was issued with another instalment of the series of translations by Khun Luang Phraison Salarak, from the Burmese history, of the intercourse between Siam and Burma, bringing the narrative to the fall of Ayudhya.

The Council deplores with much regret the death of Mr. W. R. D. Beckett, C. M. G., an Honorary Member and First President of the Society. With an intimate knowledge of Siam and its customs, Mr. Beckett was an ideal President, and to his indefatigable zeal for the welfare of the Society much of its initial success is due. We beg to extend our respectful sympathy to Mrs. Beckett in her sad loss.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1918.

During the past year the Siam Society has continued to make progress, and is financially in a very satisfactory condition. Fourteen new members were elected during the year, and only one resignation was reported. The membership of the Society now stands at 51.

The Society has been promised several important contributions to the Journal for the present year from various members. Two parts of the Volume for 1918 were issued in the course of the year, and two further parts are being printed.

Last March on the invitation of Prince Damrong the members of the Society paid a visit to the National Library, and His Royal Highness was graciously pleased to conduct the party round and to show many of the valuable books and MSS contained there. Twenty members were present.

It is to be hoped that this year some members will come forward with papers to be read before the Society.

B. O. CARTWRIGHT,

Hon. Secretary.

February 8th, 1919.

ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIETY.

AT DECEMBER 31st, 1917.

Credit	Ticals.	*Debit*	Ticals.
By Balance at Bank 31-12-13. ...	1,594.00	To Oriental Hotel ...	20.00
„ Subscriptions ...	970.59	„ Survey Dept. ...	95.00
„ Sales of Journal ...	234.00	„ Binding Periodicals	85.50
„ Interest ...	64.58	„ Binding 2 sets in London ...	65.00
		„ Arts and Crafts School ...	55.00
		„ Almirah ...	60.00
		„ Deed Box ...	19.50
		„ Printing, binding & issuing Journal (4 parts) ...	1,309.15
		„ 3 years rent to end of 1917 ...	180.00
			1,889.15
		On fixed deposit ...	900.00
		Cr. Balance Current a/c. 31-12-17 ...	74.02
Ticals ...	2,863.17	Ticals ...	2,863.17

ACCOUNTS OF THE SOCIETY

CURRENT ACCOUNT AT DECEMBER 31st, 1918.

Credit			*Debit*		
		Ticals.			Ticals.
Balance in Bank at 31-12-17	...	74.02	Survey Dept. for Plates	...	103.60
Subscriptions	...	260.00	Credit Balance	...	241.42
Sales of Journal	...	11.00			
Ticals	...	345.02	Ticals	...	345.02

FIXED DEPOSIT ACCOUNT.

December 14, 1917	...	...	Tcs.	900.00
December 14, 1918	...	...	"	931.50

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETINGS.

Held on Tuesday, January 15th, 1918, Dr. H. Campbell Highet in the chair.

The Minutes of the previous annual general meeting held on the 12th March, 1914, were read and confirmed.

On the motion of Mr. Belhomme, seconded by Mr. Cartwright the Report of the Council and the balance sheet were adopted.

The Chairman proposed "that the Hon. Secretary be asked to extract from the Minutes of this meeting the record with regard to the death of Mr. Beckett, and to send a copy to Mrs. Beckett."

Mr. Lefèvre-Pontalis seconded, and the motion was adopted.

The members of the Council for the ensuing year were then elected as follows:—

President—	Dr. H. Campbell Highet.
Vice-Presidents—	Phya Indra Montri.
	A. J. Irwin.
	R. Belhomme.
Hon. Secretary—	B. O. Cartwright
Hon. Treasurer—	W. H. Mundie

Members of Council—Miss Cole, Luang Phraison Salarak, Messrs. J. A. Cable, K. G. Gairdner, W. A. Graham, A. Trice Martin, P. Petithuguenin, J. G. Raggi, C. A. Seymour Sewell, and R. C. R. Wilson.

After considerable discussion, it was agreed to support the Council in the decision they had come to to exempt the body of members from the payment of the subscription for 1917.

This was all the business.

Held on Monday, February 24th, 1919, the President (Dr H. Campbell Highet) in the chair.

On the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Belhomme, the annual report was taken as read; and on the motion of the President, seconded by Mr. Sewell, the financial statement was accepted.

It was then proposed by Mr. Belhomme and seconded by Mr. Petithuguenin, that the old Council and office-bearers retain office for the year 1919. Carried.

Mr. Belhomme proposed and Mr. Cable seconded that Mr. G. Cœdès be elected a Vice-President of the Society, in place of Mr. A. J. Irwin, resigned. Carried.

The President thereafter proposed, and Mr. Belhomme seconded, that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. A. J. Irwin for the assistance he has given to the Society during his long tenure of office, and that he be elected an Hon. Member of the Society. Carried.

A vote of thanks to the chairman concluded the meeting.

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(PART 2.)

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1919.

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THE SIAM SOCIETY.

(FOUNDED 1904.)

For the Investigation and Encouragement of Arts, Science and Literature in relation to Siam, and neighbouring countries.

PATRON:
HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

VICE-PATRON:
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE DAMRONG RAJANUBHAB.

COUNCIL IN 1919

PRESIDENT:
PHYA INDRA MONTRI (F. H. GILES).

VICE-PRESIDENTS:
R. BELHOMME, B.A., B.A.I., A.M.I.C.E.
G. CŒDES.

HON. SECRETARY:
B. O. CARTWRIGHT, B.A.

HON. TREASURER:
W. H. MUNDIE, M.A.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL:
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LUANG PHRAISON SALARAK, B.A.
J. A. CABLE.
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C. A. SEYMOUR SEWELL, M.A.
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Siamese History prior to the founding of Ayuddhyā.

Translated from the Siamese

OF

H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rājānubhāb

BY

J. Crosby.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR

The following is an attempt at a translation into English of a part of the preface placed by His Royal Highness Prince Damrong before his edition of the Royal Autograph version of the History of Siam during the Ayuddhyā period.

The version in question is a revised one which was drawn up by order of His late Majesty King Mongkut (Rama IV.). It derives its name from the circumstance that one of the manuscripts in which it exists contains corrections in that King's own handwriting. The first volume of Prince Damrong's edition, with a preface and notes by His Royal Highness, was printed in Bangkok by order of the Committee of the Vajirañāṇa National Library in 1914. The preliminary portion of the preface deals with the sources available for a study of the history of Siam and has already been translated by Dr. Frankfurter. (See Journal of the Siam Society, Volume XI., Part 2, 1914.) The second and concluding portion (here done into English) gives a condensed account of Siamese history during the centuries which preceded the founding of Ayuddhyā by King U Thong in the year of the Buddhist era 1893 (A. D. 1350).

No apology is needed for introducing the present essay to the consideration of students who are not familiar with the Siamese language. It forms a *résumé*—which, so far as the translator knows, is unique—of the main events occurring during a very obscure period. As Prince Damrong is himself the first to admit, some of the conclusions at which he arrives are original and daring, but they will have justified themselves if they do no more than serve to stimulate discussion on the part of competent critics.

I would express my grateful thanks to His Royal Highness for permission to undertake the work of translation, and for valuable help in the revision of the proofs. It should be explained that

I have not always followed the text as published in the printed volume; recent researches have necessitated various alterations.

To Professor Cœdès, the Chief Librarian of the National Library in Bangkok, I am also deeply indebted, both for assistance in revising the proofs and for a great number of important emendations and suggestions.

The Chinese names appearing in the original Siamese have been transliterated by Prince Damrong in accordance with a Southern form of pronunciation. In my translation these names have for the most part, with the kind help of Professor Cœdès, been rendered according to the Northern Mandarin form after the system adopted by Professor Giles, though in a few instances it has not been practicable to do this.

My thanks are due to Luang Javakārapañjā for helpful and effective supervision in the task of converting the Siamese text into English.

For the convenience of those who may not be acquainted with the system of reckoning followed by Prince Damrong, it may be noted that the Buddhist era commences with the year B. C. 544 and the Chula era with the year A. D. 639. The present year of the Christian era, 1919, is thus 2462 of the Buddhist, and 1281 of the Chula, eras.

I have adopted no recognised method in the transliteration of purely Siamese words, for the sufficient reason that no such method exists.

———

CORRIGENDA.

Page	3, line 16.	For	"Szechuan"	read "Ssŭch'uan."
„	3, „ 16.	„	"Yunnan"	„ "Yünnan."
„	10, 3rd line from bottom	„	"prāṇg"	„ "prāṅg."
„	14, line 22.	„	"Magadhese"	„ "Pāli."
„	14, „ 25.	„	"Magadhese	„ "Pāli."
„	58, last line.	„	"Mahāhdarmarājā."	„ "Mahādharmarājā"

EXPLANATORY REMARKS IN REGARD TO THE PERIOD OF SIAMESE HISTORY ANTECEDENT TO THE FOUNDING OF AYUDDHYĀ.

The Royal Autograph version of the history of Siam begins with the founding of Ayuddhyā by King Phra Chao U Thong in the year of the tiger, Chula Era 712, Buddhist Era 1893. Before turning to this version, students of history will no doubt seek information as to the condition of Siam in the pre-Ayuddhyā period, as to who King Phra Chao U Thong was and as to the circumstances which led to his founding the city. Ancient writings contain many narratives bearing upon the period in question, as I have shewn in the chapter dealing with historical sources, and there are also various monuments of antiquity which, if considered in conjunction with the accounts furnished by neighbouring countries, serve to throw some light upon the early history of our land. I have therefore attempted, for the benefit of those who desire information, to collate and compile, in the form of a preface to the present work, the evidence offered by such narratives as refer to Siam in the times which preceded the founding of Ayuddhyā. But the work of collating ancient documents is a laborious one, since it is necessary to search for, to copy out and to make selection among narratives and authorities which are to be found in so many different places that it is difficult to examine them all. Moreover, the compositions of the old writers sometimes set forth occurrences of such an extraordinary nature as to be unworthy of credence at the present day; at other times, different accounts of the same events are so contradictory that the student must decide for himself as to which of them is correct. For this reason, the ensuing compilation contains much that is conjecture on my part, and, as conjecture is a process which may lead to error, the reader should exercise his own powers of discrimination when perusing the pages which follow.

History of Siam in the period antecedent to the founding of Ayuddhyā by King Phra Chao U Thong.

The territory of which Siam is now made up was originally occupied by people of two races, the Khmers (ขอม) and the Lāo. The domain of the Khmers comprised the low-lying land to the South, that is to say, the present Kingdom of Cambodia and a tract along the sea-coast which extended into the Southern valley of the Chao Phyā River* and reached as far as Pegu. The domain of the Lāo was situated in the highlands to the North within the valley of the Mekhong River, beginning at the line of hills which forms the frontier of Cambodia. It thus comprised the present provincial circles of Nagor Rājasimā, Ubol (Ubon), Roi Et and Utor (Udorn), and it extended as far as the left bank of the Mekhong. The provincial circle of Bāyab (Payab)† in the valley of the River Chao Phyā was also included in the original domain occupied by the Lāo, the Southern limits of which appear to have joined the territory inhabited by the Khmers in the neighbourhood of Svargalok (Sawankalōk) and Raheng.

Who were the original Khmers and Lāo? To-day we only know that the peoples designated under the names of Khā, Khamu, Cambodians, Mons and Meng all speak languages which are of Khmer stock. We may conclude, therefore, that these peoples are descended from the Khmers. As for the original Lāo, they are to be identified in the people styled to-day Luă (ลัวะ) or Lawā (ลวา), who are still to be found among the forests and hills in almost all the provincial circles included in the old Lāo domain, and who speak a distinct language of their own. The name Luă or Lawā comes from the same word as the name Lāo, a

*Generally known to Europeans as the River Menam. [Translator's Note.]

†Since the above was written, the former provincial circle of Bāyab has been divided up into two distinct circles, that of Bāyab on the West and of Mahārāshtra on the East. [Translator's Note.]

fact which enables us to identify them with the original Lāo people.*

In this connection, I would observe that by Southern Siamese (Thai) the present inhabitants of the provincial circles of Bāyab, Utor, Roi Et and Ubol are generally considered to be Lāo and are termed such. It is true that the provincial circles mentioned were formerly occupied by Lāo, but the majority of the inhabitants to-day are Thai, and so regard themselves equally with us Siamese of the South.

With regard to the Thai race, it is now divided up into many branches which are styled under different names, as, for example, Thō, Thai, Phū Thai, Phuen, Chān, Chīeng, Ngiu, Lü and Khön. All these branches speak a Thai language and their traditions prove them to be Thai. The original home of the Thai was in what is now known as Southern China, in a region stretching from the Yangtse River through Szechuan and Yunnan down to the Lāo country. The whole of this region was once inhabited by the Thai. How then did it come about that the latter established themselves in Siam? In order to answer this question, I must first of all give some account of the Khmers.

The Khmers.

For the investigation of Khmer history the study of no written documents or authorities is so useful as an examination of the ancient monuments erected by this people, such as the *cetiyas* and temples of stone which are still scattered over our country and the stone inscriptions and other objects which have been discovered in the course of excavation. These relics of the past should be studied and compared with similar relics existing in other countries, as well as with the historical narratives composed there; by this

*The translator has been informed by another authority, however, that the word "Lāo" is of Thai origin and that it is still employed by at least one of the Thai-speaking tribes of South-Western China with the meaning of "person". [Translator's Note.]

means we may arrive at an approximate idea of Khmer civilisation as it once was.

I have already said that the domain of the Khmers comprised formerly the low-lying land to the South extending from Cambodia along the sea-coast to the valley of the Chao Phyā River and thence as far as Pegu. Proof of this assertion is to be found in the fact that the original inhabitants of the region described spoke the same language. Even to-day the Malays everywhere make use of Khmer terms when addressing words of command in the employment of elephants. Additional proof is afforded by the many old buildings erected by the Khmers thoroughout the same region. There is one noticeable feature about these erections; in the Eastern portion of the valley of the River Chao Phyā they consist generally of Brahmanic temples; in the Western portion, from the extremity of the Malay Peninsula up to Pegu, they consist as a rule of monasteries and *cetiyas* connected with the Buddhist religion. Further, the style of architecture in the case of all Khmer monuments found in this part of the world, both in the East and in the West, whether they be Brahmanic temples or Buddhist monasteries, betrays unmistakably an Indian origin. In the districts once occupied by the Lāo within the valley of the Mekhong River there exist at very many spots Brahmanic temples built by the Khmers, but it is apparent that they are of more recent date. Of ancient Buddhist monasteries there is only one, which is still to be seen at Nagor Phanom and is now called Phra Dhātu Phanom. On the other hand, in the Lāo country comprised within the valley of the Chao Phyā River in the provincial circle of Bāyab, no Brahmanic temples exist, the ancient monuments there being connected exclusively with the Buddhist faith.

A consideration of the various historical monuments referred to above leads us to the inevitable conclusion that in olden times parties of Indians must have visited the Khmer country for the purposes of trade, and that they must have remained there until at last they either acquired power in the capacity of preceptors, or became the actual rulers of the land. But it is difficult to gather

reliable evidence as to when this immigration from India took place. An indication is perhaps to be found in a rock inscription of the Indian King Asōka, which recounts an invasion by him of the country of Kaliṅga in Southern India some time after the year of the Buddhist Era 200, when he had been seated on the throne for 9 years and before he had embraced the Buddhist faith. The inscription states that in this campaign, before the conquest of the country by King Asoka could be effected, large numbers of the people of Kaliṅga were slain and that over a hundred thousand of them figured as prisoners alone. It is permissible to assume from the above account that, at the period in question, many of the inhabitants of Southern India fled from King Asōka and emigrated to the region occupied by the Khmers. This supposition is consistent with the lettering and language, which are exclusively Southern Indian, of the stone inscriptions found in that region. If, therefore, we wish to fix the date when visitors from India first arrived in the Khmer country, we may assume that they came for the purposes of trade from about the beginning of the Buddhist Era or earlier, and that they then became acquainted with the country. Subsequently, some time after the year B. E. 200, the inhabitants of Southern India suffered through the conquest of their country by King Asōka and an emigration on their part then took place to the Khmer region, this being the first occasion upon which they settled there in considerable numbers. A parallel is afforded by the immigration into Siam of Mons in the time of Dhanapurī and during the second reign of the present dynasty, when large settlements were established; the populations of Muang Pradumdhāni and of Muang Nagor Khūen Khandh (Paklat) consist to this day in great measure of persons of Mon extraction. The Indian emigrants whom we are discussing must have established themselves in several different places. Once an Indian colony had arisen, it received continual additions in the shape of fresh emigrants who were in search of a new home, either in order to earn a living or because they were fleeing from some threatened danger. (In the same way, there is an influx of Chinese into Siam at the present time.) But these Indians were a civilised people, possessing a knowledge superior to that of the Khmers who,

though owners of the country, were still only jungle-folk. In course of time, they came to acquire power as teachers and finally developed into the ruling race, the Khmers being subject to their domination. It was during this period that they erected their monasteries and their temples.

According to Vincent A. Smith's work on Indian architecture, a comparative study of the ancient monuments of India shews that the oldest of these were all built in the time of King Asōka and that they are of Buddhist origin. The Brahmanic monuments, such as prāngs and temples, are of later date. It has also been discovered that Buddhist and Brahmanic religious edifices in India differ as to the respective purposes for which they were built. In the case of Buddhist edifices, the stūpa was of primary importance and was usually made of brick; it served either as a shrine to enclose relics, or else to mark some sacred place as, for example, the spot where the Buddha expounded the Wheel of the Law. At first the stūpa was round in shape, like an inverted basin or cup; later, a base and a spire were added so as to form a *cetiya*. Further, we do not meet with representations of the Buddha in the time of King Asōka; we find instead representations of a wheel (to typify the Wheel of the Law), or of the Buddha's pulpit, or of His footprint. Representations of the Buddha only appear some three or four hundred years after the period of King Asōka, and become frequent after the rise of the Northern form of Buddhism. Buddhist temples in King Asōka's day, in addition to the stūpa, had attached to them also in nearly every case cells and a place of assembly (vihāra) for the monks. Brahmanic temples, on the other hand, of whatever size, consisted merely of shrines for the reception of the images of the gods for purposes of public worship. From these statements of Vincent A. Smith we may conclude that the oldest Indian monuments in this country are those appertaining to the Buddhist religion, which ante-date the stone edifices erected in connection with the Brahmanic faith. This presumption is borne out by the style of construction, Buddhist monasteries such as that at Nagor Pathom being built with less care for detail and for appearance than the Brahmanic temples in the East, as for instance that at Angkor or the one at Phimāi. The

reason for this circumstance is that the Buddhist *cetiyas* and *vihāras* were constructed before Indian architecture had had time to develop itself; the Brahmanic shrines, on the contrary, were built after the Indian peoples had learnt architecture from the Greeks and by practice had cultivated skill in the art. Able constructors then appeared who furnished plans and supervised the work of building in our own country. We have already stated that the early Buddhist monuments in Siam are to be found principally in the West. It may, therefore, be opined that the earliest Indian immigrants settled along the Western sea-coast from Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula, and that from thence they crossed over to Nagor Pathom on the Gulf of Siam. Long afterwards, having become familiar with the country and its routes, the Indian colonists crossed to the Eastern shores of the Gulf, in order to trade and settle in what is now Cambodia.

A consideration of the rock inscriptions taken in conjunction with the "Mahāvaṁsa" enables us to give the following account of King Asōka. In the year 218 of the Buddhist Era, King Piyadassī Dharmāsōka (or, to give him his short name, King Asōka), of the royal family of Mōriya, was the ruler of Magadha and had established his capital at Pāṭaliputta. In the ninth year of his reign (B. E. 227), he invaded and conquered the country of Kaliṅga, on the Southern sea-coast, making of it a dependency of his own. But after witnessing the great slaughter of his enemies which took place in this campaign, he was seized with pity and lost all desire further to extend his dominions and increase his glory by having resort to war. He vowed, therefore, from that time onwards solely to acquire renown by governing his realm through the power of righteousness. On his return to his capital, he devoted himself to a consideration of the various creeds then professed in the Kingdom of Magadha, and decided that the Buddhist faith above all others embodied the highest form of truth. He then declared himself to be the patron of Buddhism, which became the chief creed of the country and the precepts of which he set up as a guide for the government of his dominions. After embracing the Buddhist faith King Asōka shewed himself to be a generous supporter of the monks. Seeing that the latter were so well cared

for, many unbelievers, to the scandal of true monks, falsely took the vows. When this came to the knowledge of King Asōka, he purged the Church by expelling the unbelievers from the monastic circle. He then invited the monk Moggaliputtatissa to preside over the third Council of the Church at Pāṭaliputta in the eighteenth year of his reign (B. E. 236.). After the holding of this Council, he evinced the desire to spread Buddhism in other lands and sent out missionaries to preach the faith in various countries. From the rock inscriptions, it appears that the missionaries of King Asōka carried their message in the West as far as Syria and Egypt, and also to Macedonia in Europe. With regard to countries adjacent to his own and to Eastern lands, it appears that King Asōka invited the monk Moggaliputtatissa to select and despatch for the task of preaching the faith a number of other *arahants*, whose names, as well as the countries over which they dispersed themselves, are set forth in the following verses of the "Mahāvaṁsa":—

"When the thera Moggaliputta, the illuminator of the "religion of the Conqueror, had brought the (third) council to an "end and when, looking into the future, he had beheld the founding "of the religion in adjacent countries, (then) in the month Kattika "he sent forth theras, one here and one there. The thera "Majjhantika he sent to Kasmīra and Gandhāra, the thera "Mahādeva he sent to Mahisamaṇḍala. To Vanavāsa he sent the "thera named Rakkhita, and to Aparantaka the Yona named "Dhammarakkhita; to Mahārattha (he sent) the thera named "Mahādhammarakkhita, but the thera Mahārakkhita he sent into "the country of the Yona. He sent the thera Majjhima to the "Himalaya country, and to Suvaṇṇabhūmi he sent the two theras "Soṇa and Uttara. The great thera Mahinda, the theras "Itthiya, Uttiya, Sambala and Bhaddasāla, his disciples, these five "theras he sent forth with the charge: 'Ye shall found in the "lovely island of Laṅkā (Ceylon) the lovely religion of the "Conqueror.'"*

*Translation of Geiger and Bode.

Professor Rhys Davids in his work on Buddhism thus identifies the countries mentioned in the above verses :—

The monk Majjhanîtka visited Kasmîra and Gandhāra, i.e., the countries now known as Kashmîr and Afghanistan, on the North-West frontier of India.

The monk Mahādeva visited the country of Mahis, i.e., the district in India South of the Godavery River within the present territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The monk Rakkhita visited Vanavāsa, which Professor Rhys Davids understands to lie on the edge of the desert within the district of Rajputana in India.

The monk Dhammarakkhita visited Aparantaka, which is understood to be on the Western border of the Punjab.

The monk Mahādhammarakkhita visited Mahārattha, which is in the Mahratta district towards the source of the Godavery River, 150 miles North-East of Bombay.

The monk Mahārakkhita visited the country of the Yona, which is now known as Bactria, in Persia.

The monk Majjhima visited Himavanta, i.e., the countries situated among the Himalaya mountains.

The monks Sōṇa and Uttara visited Suvarṇabhūmi, which Professor Rhys Davids explains as consisting of the region extending from Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula.

The monk Mahinda, who was a son of King Asōka, and several other monks, visited Ceylon.

Subsequent corroboration of the account given in the Mahāvamsa of the mission of these monks in the time of King Asōka has been furnished by a stūpa containing sacred relics, which forms one among a group of commemorative *cetiyas* in India. On this stūpa there is an inscription in stone to the effect that the enclosed relics are those of the monk Majjhima, who preached the Buddhist religion in the land of Himavanta and who, after his return, died

and was cremated at that spot. And in Ceylon many other proofs are forthcoming to shew that the monk Mahinda actually did introduce Buddhism into that island.

The Mons allege that the land of Suvarṇabhūmi, in which the monks Sōṇa and Uttara established the Bhuddhist faith, is indentical with the district of Thatôn on the Gulf of Martaban. But I think that we Siamese, with better reason than the Mons, may place it in our own country. For we have a district called U Thong (source or repository of gold) which corresponds to the old name Suvarṇabhūmi (land of gold); if the latter name was derived from the presence of gold, it is significant that in Pegu there are no gold mines, although such exist in Siam. But it is unnecessary to dispute on this point. I agree with the explanation of Professor Rhys Davids, who states that by Suvarṇabhūmi is meant the region extending from Pegu to Western Siam, or perhaps even as far as what is now Annam. The whole of this region was formerly known to the Indians as Suvarṇabhūmi. The monks Sōṇa and Uttara doubtless landed at some place on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, possibly at Thatôn. But there is one established fact not yet known to archaeologists in other countries, namely, that in Western Siam there exists a certain ancient city with the remains of many stūpas, cetiyas and vihāras. In the whole of Suvarṇabhūmi, from Burma and Pegu down through the Malay Peninsula, there is no city at once larger and older than this one. In ancient writings it is called Jaya-Çiri or Çiri-Jaya, and it was already abandoned before the foundation of the old capital at Sukhōdaya. Only recently has it become a town once more after the construction of the railway, its present name being Nagor Pathom. Many later proofs have been discovered to support the view of His Majesty King Mongkut, who set up a stone inscription at the *cetiya* there, declaring that the Buddhist religion was introduced into the city in the time of King Asōka. Firstly, the shape of the stūpa resembles that of the commemorative stūpas constructed under King Asōka. (Consider the model which has been made of the ancient *cetiya*, excluding the prāṇg added later by Phya Bhāṇ.). Moreover, like those of King Asoka's day, the stūpa is of brick. Secondly, there have been dug up at Nagor Pathom many stones

fashioned in the shape of a wheel (typifying the wheel of the law). These were employed as religious emblems in place of statues of the Buddha, as appears from the investigations of archaeologists in India, who state that in the period of King Asōka statues of the Buddha were not made, but that they are products of a later date. I have not heard that anywhere else in neighbouring countries have so many of these representations of the wheel of the law been dug up as at Nagor Pathom. I arrive therefore at the following conclusion. When King Asōka was disseminating the Buddhist religion abroad—it matters not whether this was accomplished through the agency of monks, or of state officials, or of pious Indians who had gone forth on trading expeditions—in any case, I believe that the Indians already then established in power at Nagor Pathom were the first to be converted and—after them—the original population. In this connection, it should not be forgotten that missionaries must understand the language of those to whom they preach. Inasmuch as the Buddhist faith was professed at Nagor Pathom before it was adopted in any other of the cities of Suvarṇabhūmi, the earliest *cetiya* erected there was from its first foundation called "Phra Pathom Cetiya" (พระปฐมเจดีย์)* Later on, the same faith was spread from Nagor Pathom to other cities, and it is for this reason that Buddhism is professed by most of the peoples who live on the Western shores of the Gulf of Siam, as also by the inhabitants of the Lāo country in the provincial circle of Bāyab and by the Mons and Burmans. For the same reason, the ancient monuments found among these peoples consist only of monasteries and inscriptions connected with Buddhism and are not of Brahmanic origin, as is the case in the regions lying to the East. We are not, however, to conclude that the Buddhist religion did not at that time extend further Eastwards; the shrine (Phra Dhātu) at Phanom, on the banks of the Mekhong River, affords evidence to the contrary. I have myself visited this shrine and examined it during several

*Such was also the usual modern name of the town of Nagor Pathom until quite recently, its present designation having been officially assigned to it only a few years ago. "Pathom"—"pathama"—(ปฐม) means "first."—[Translator's Note.]

days. Its style is peculiar, the sculptures being in that of King Asōka's period and not resembling the work of the builders of the Brahmanic temples in Cambodia.

Indian history tells us that, even at the time when King Asōka established Buddhism as the principal creed in most of the countries of India, there were still adherents of the Brahmanic faith to be found everywhere, since Buddhism and Brahmanism were not directly opposed to each other. There were many points of similarity between the tenets of the two religions, although the former attached chief importance to the moral law, whilst the latter concerned itself mainly with the physical universe. (The same distinction may be observed in our own country). King Asōka did not, therefore, suppress Brahmanism, but merely refrained from supporting it as he did Buddhism. After his death, no monarch of the Mōriya line exercised the same power as he, and the Kingdom of Magadha gradually declined, many cities which had been subject to King Asōka regaining their independence. Of these, the rulers in some cases professed the Buddhist faith; others were adherents to the Brahmanic religion, and the same held good of the ordinary populace.

Ceylon received the Buddhist faith in the reign of King Devānampiyatissa. In our account of the Church Councils it is stated that, in the year of the Buddhist Era 238, the monk Mahinda, who first introduced Buddhism into the island, summoned the fourth of the Councils. Later, in the year B. E. 433, King Vatagāminī overcame the Tamils and, after re-establishing the independence of Ceylon, became imbued with the desire to restore the Buddhist creed to its former state of purity. The ecclesiastics of the day were apprehensive lest the faith should disappear as a result of the conquest of their country by the unbelieving Tamils on two occasions. The Council of the Church named the fifth in our account was therefore convened and led to the preparation of the first written version of the Tripitaka, which was inscribed upon palm leaves. (Professor Rhys Davids fixes the year B. E. 330 as the date of this Council.) Of the written version then made, only the sacred text was in the language of Magadha; the

commentaries and glosses were at that time all of them still in the Cinghalese tongue.

In the year B. E. 553,* King Kanishka, of the Kusāna line, was lord over the realm of Gandhāra and set up his capital at Purush (known to-day as Peshawar), in North-Western India. Like King Asōka he was ruler of a broad domain and was a devout follower of Buddhism, which form of religion he wished to set up as the first in the land, as had been the case in King Asōka's time. For this cause he invited 500 monks, the monk Vasubandhu being at their head, to assemble in a Council of the Church at Purush. The Council summoned by King Kanishka is not mentioned in the ecclesiastical history of us Southern Buddhists. It is chiefly to be noted for having adopted the Sanskrit tongue as the language of the Tripitaka, and from it dates the rise in Northern India of the "mahā yāna" sect. The origin of this sect is to be explained by the fact that a division based upon differences in points of doctrine had sprung up among the monks in India, first commencing, as we may assume, from the date of the second Church Council in B. E. 100. One party adhered strictly to the precepts of the Buddha and refused to alter them to suit the wishes of individuals. Another party attached special importance to the making of converts and in so doing followed the example of the Brahman teachers, who, observing that large numbers of persons were attracted by the Buddhist faith, had modified their own religion by embodying in it certain of the popular features of Buddhism and by this means had satisfied the public taste. Subsequently, in King Kanishka's day, when the number of those who were drawn to the Brahmanic form of religion had increased, such among the Buddhist monks as set their chief store upon public approbation endeavoured to acquire popularity by changing the tenets of their faith. They named this altered body of doctrine the "mahā yāna" (great vehicle), implying thereby that by means of it escape from the circle of existence would be assured to more

* More correctly, not earlier than the end of the first century of the Christian era. [Emendation by H. R. H. Prince Damrong].

living creatures and more rapidly than by means of the old form of Buddhism. The "mahā yāna" doctrines were propagated first of all in the Kingdom of Gandhāra. King Kanishka sent out missionaries to preach Buddhism in foreign lands, as was done in the time of King Asōka, except that most of these new missionaries proceeded towards the North. In this manner, Buddhism first reached China and Thibet in King Kanishka's reign,* and it is, therefore, the "mahā yāna" or Northern form of it which prevails in China, in Japan and even in Annam, as may be seen to-day from the Chinese and Annamite monks who live in our midst. On the other hand, Ceylon, Burma, Pegu and Siam received the Buddhist faith from Magadha in the time of King Asōka, and in those countries the Southern form (known to the followers of the "mahā yāna" as the "hīna yāna" or "lower vehicle") has always been practised. From those same times there dates also a difference in regard to the Tripitaka, which in the case of the Northern form of Buddhism are in the Sanskrit tongue and have also been translated into Chinese. By the followers of the Southern form, however, they are still read in the language of Magadha, both as regards the canonical text and the commentaries, which latter the monk Buddha Ghōsha, of Buddha Gayā in India, translated from Cinghalese into Magadhese about the year B. E. 596. From that time, the religious commentaries, glosses, etc., of the Southern form of Buddhism, which were originally in Cinghalese, have been in the Magadhese language, and those of later date have also been composed in the same tongue.

The Northern form of Buddhism must have been to some extent introduced into Suvarṇabhūmi, for in that region have been discovered ancient statues of the Buddha describing with finger and thumb a circle so as to emblemize the wheel of the law. Statues having this peculiarity are called "Gandhārese" after the name of King Kanishka's country and are to be seen at Nagor Pathom and in many other ancient cities of this part of the world.

* Probably even earlier. [Emendation by H. R. H. Prince Damrong].

After the reign of King Kanishka, the Brahmanic creed regained its ascendancy in India, but there still remained kings and peoples who were followers of the Buddhist faith. In the year B. E. 1172, a Chinese monk named Hiouen Thsang or Yuan Chwang travelled to India overland for the purpose of investigating Buddhism. He has placed it on record that, at that period, the Brahmanic form of religion was everywhere disputing for supremacy with the Buddhist, and that there was a certain monarch named King Çīlāditya, the ruler of the country of Kanyākūbja (now known as Kanauj), who was a devout supporter of Buddhism after the fashion of King Asōka both within his own dominions and in foreign lands, to which latter he despatched missionaries. But in the reign of King Çīlāditya Buddhism had, for two reasons which have already been noted, become even more changed than before. In the first place, the dissensions among its followers tended to increase, and in the second, the adherents to Brahmanism continued to preach their doctrines in opposition to those of the Buddhist creed. The monk Hiouen Thsang witnessed the summoning by King Çīlāditya of Buddhist monks and Brahman preceptors, together with the rulers of dependent states, to a common Church Council The first day's deliberations were held in the presence of a statue of the Buddha, those of the second day in that of a representation of Indrāditya, and those of the third day in that of a representation of Çiva. This Council was apparently held in the endeavour to reconcile the various conflicting forms of belief. Hiouen Thsang states that the differences in doctrine between Buddhism and Brahmanism were first of all discussed, and that afterwards there was a discussion upon the differences of system between the followers of the Northern form of Buddhism upon the one hand and the followers of the Southern form of the same religion upon the other.

I believe that the despatch of missionaries by King Çīlāditya had results which reached as far as this country, as is evidenced for example by the discovery of stamped impressions of sacred figures which have been discovered at Nagor Pathom and at Rājapurī (Ratburi), or which have been found littered about caves in the provincial circles of Nagor Çrī Dharmarāj (Nakhon Si

Tammarat), Bhūkech (Puket) and Pattānī. All these stamped impressions are to be connected with the later stages of the "mahā yāna" form of Buddhism; they consist of representations both of the Buddha and of various Bōdhisatvas, the latter either male or female, some of them being depicted with many arms. The letters appearing on the back of the impressions are in the Devanāgarī character and differ from inscriptions of earlier date. In my opinion, the sacred shrines (พระมหาธาตุ) at Jayā and Nagor Çrī Dharmarāj (before the construction of the Cinghalese *cetiyas* which now enclose them) were both of them connected with the "mahā yāna", and were probably erected at the time of the missionary efforts put forth under King Çiladitya towards the year B. E. 1200. At this same period were erected the *cetiyas* called "tjandi" by the Javanese which exist at several places in Java.

There is nothing to shew exactly when were introduced into our part of the world those forms of Brahmanism especially connected with the worship of Çiva or of Vishnu. But we may assume that, after the establishment of Indian colonies in the region occupied by the Khmers, intercourse with the parent country was always maintained and that any changes (including those effected in religious matters) occurring in the latter would make themselves felt in the former also. As the Brahmanic religion became more popular in India, there must have been devotees who introduced it into and spread it throughout our own neighbourhood, just as had happened before at the time when Buddhism itself was first introduced.

There is a legend to the effect that an Indian prince once emigrated to the region which is now known as Cambodia, where he married a royal lady, (it is not stated whether she was herself the ruler of the country, or merely a King's daughter), and subsequently became sovereign of the land and the ancestor of many subsequent rulers. This tale accords with the evidence furnished by stone inscriptions found in Cambodia and containing the names of many Khmer Kings who were apparently of Indian origin.

These Kings are as follows:—Çrutavarman, Çresṭhavarman, Bhavavarman I, Mahendravarman, Içānavarman, Bhavavarman II, Jayavarman I, Jayavarman II (B. E. 1345—1412), Jayavarman III, Indravarman I, Yaçovarman (B. E. 1432—53), Harṣavarman I, Içānavarman II, Jayavarman IV, Harṣavarman II, Rājendravarman, Jayavarman V, Udayādityavarman I, Sūryavarman I (B. E. 1545—92), Udayādityavarman II, Harṣavarman III, Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarman I, Sūryavarman II (B. E. 1655—95), Harṣavarman IV (?), Dharaṇīndravarman II, Jayavarman VII (B. E. 1725—44), Indravarman II, Çrī Indravarman, Çrī Indrajayavarman and Jayavarmaparameçvara.*

The inscriptions indicate that all these "Varman" Kings were followers of Brahmanism. In his work on Cambodia, Aymonier tells us that King Jaya Varman II. built the stone temple at Angkor Thom about the year B. E. 1400, and that King Sūryavarman II. built that at Angkor Wat about the year B. E. 1650.

From the indications outlined above, we may assume that those Indians who crossed the Gulf of Siam and settled to the East of it were not originally converts to Buddhism. Later, whether on account of a war at some date or for other reasons of which we are ignorant, certain princes from Southern India who were followers of the Brahmanic form of religion emigrated with their followings to Suvarṇabhūmi, but, not being content to dwell with the Buddhist settlers in the West, they crossed over and joined themselves to the Brahman colonists who had established themselves to the East. Other emigrants from India must have followed continually, until at last these colonists succeeded in setting up a great and powerful state which, after securing its position in the Southern portion of the Khmer region, extended its dominion over neighbouring districts. The Indian settlers in Cambodia must have been ruled by a long

*The above list has been furnished by Prince Damrong in substitution for the one originally printed, and has been extracted from Professor Finot's "Notes d' Epigraphie Indochinoise" which were published in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Volume XV., No. 2. [Translator's Note.]

succession of powerful monarchs; they were thus able to possess themselves of the Lāo country both in the valley of the River Mekhong and in that of the River Chao Phyā, and they shewed themselves capable of erecting stone temples such as those at Angkor Thom and at Angkor Wat, which are unequalled for size in the whole world. Moreover, when they had acquired any fresh territory, they proved that they could govern it in their own way and establish their own religion in it. This may be seen from the many stone temples which the Khmers erected at various spots and which are to be found almost everywhere in the neighbourhood of our country. It should not be forgotten that at that period the means available for building purposes were not what they are to-day, human labour and patience being then the chief requisites. In the construction of any of these temples, consider how many men must have been employed and how much time and patience have been expended, in order to quarry and shape the blocks of stone, to raise them and fit them into position according to plan, and then to carve them and polish them to perfection. Hundreds of men must have been utilised for the erection of any one temple, and in the case of such huge edifices as Angkor Wat thousands must have been employed. Further, the work of construction must everywhere have been carried on throughout successive reigns, ceasing only when calamity overtook the state, or when its resources became too enfeebled for the continuation of the task. For these reasons—(His Royal Highness Prince Sarbasiddhi Prasong was the first to notice the fact, which I myself observed after him)—all the stone temples built by the Khmers, wherever they may be or whatever may be their size, wear to this day the appearance of having never been completed. The incredulous may verify this statement by inspecting any one of such buildings at will.

The Khmers reached the zenith of their power about the year B. E. 1400; they had their capital at Angkor Thom, known in Siamese as Phra Nagor Luang, not far from Angkor Wat. They selected also Lavō (the modern Lobpurī) as the seat of a Viceroy, who governed the Khmer possessions in the valley of the River Chao Phyā. North of the chain of hills in the valley of the

Mekhong, we can gather from the size of the temples still existing at Phimāi that that place was also the residence of a Viceroy and the seat of government in that region. There was perhaps still another such seat of government in the neighbourhood of Surindra and Khu Khandh. The Brahmanic customs and the Sanskrit terms which are to this day intermingled with the usages and language of the Siamese may be held to have been first introduced by the Brahmans at the period when the Khmers of Cambodia were masters of the country. In a certain temple in Cambodia there is a stone inscription relating to a grant of the use of land to the temple by a Khmer King; it is stipulated that, should the King ever come to the country in which this temple is situated, the Brahmans must receive him with divine honours. We may have here the origin of the rites performed by the Brahmans for the reception of the Phyā who presides over our swinging festival (and who represents the sovereign of the country). During the course of the swinging ceremonies, this official is still received by the Brahmans into the city as though he were a god upon one day, and is similarly escorted out of it again by them upon another.

The Thai.

I have said previously that the Thai had their first home in Southern China, where they formed already an important element of the population before the commencement of the Buddhist Era. There are still in Southern China to-day many tribes who speak a Thai language and who are to be recognised as members of the original Thai stock. The people known to us as Ho are in reality Thai and not Chinese. In Chinese historical works, and especially in the narrative designated "Sām Kok"* ("The Three Kingdoms"), mention is made of wars between the Chinese and the "Huen." European students of the antiquities of China have discovered that the people called "Huen" in these compositions were really none other than the Thai. As, however, the Chinese gave another name to them, their identity was not

* Known to Europeans as "San Kuo Chih."

known until scholars had ascertained that the four provinces of Southern China now called Yünnan, Kuei Chou, Kuang Tung and Kuang Si formerly comprised a region in which the Thai had established several independent states. From about the year B. E. 400, as a result of over-population, these Thai began to emigrate to the South-West and South. Later on, the Chinese, as their power increased, extended their frontiers so as to encroach upon the domain of the Thai who, being thus pressed, were unable to dwell in comfort in the region which they had first occupied. Knowing from their fellows who had emigrated previously that it was easier to support life in the lands to the South-West and South, the Thai thereupon descended into those parts in ever growing numbers. They came down in two directions, those who travelled in a South-Westerly direction establishing themselves in the valley of the River Salwin, whilst those who came down in a Southerly direction settled in the valley of the River Mekhong. The emigrants into the Salwin region set up an independent Thai state about the year B. E. 800 with its capital at Muang Phong, (which may be identified with the modern Muang Hāng Luang). The emigrants who descended into the valley of the Mekhong established independent Thai states in the region now called the "Sibsong Chu Thai" (สิบสองจุไทย), from the words "twelve Chao Thai" (twelve Thai rulers), owing to the fact that there were at first a number of small separate principalities thus set up. Subsequently, a Thai ruler named Khun Parama obtained sufficient ascendancy to unite the Thai states in the Mekhong valley into one, the capital of which he established at Muang Thaeng. The Thai having thus come down from China in two separate directions and having set up two states independent of one another, this circumstance led afterwards to a distinction in the matter of names. Those who had settled in the valley of the Salwin came to be known as Thai Yai (greater Thai) and are the people now called Shans ("ngiu"—เงี้ยว) by us; those who had established themselves in the state of Muang Thaeng came to be known as Thai Noi (lesser Thai).

According to European writers, those members of the Thai

race who had remained in their original home continued to be hard pressed by the Chinese until, in the year B. E. 1192, there arose a Thai monarch called in the Chinese Annals Hsi Nu Lo who united six Thai states under his rule and set up his capital at a place to the North-West of the town of Hua T'ing in what is now the province of Yünnan. After the Thai had in this way been merged into one state they became sufficiently strong to protect themselves and to resist pressure from the Chinese. The family of King Hsi Nu Lo reigned for four generations, the last of the dynasty being a Thai monarch who is named in the Chinese annals Ko Lo Fung and who ruled in B. E. 1291. This king was a great warrior and made his capital at Muang Nong Sae, the Ta-li-fu of the Chinese (which exists in the province of Yünnan to this day). The territory over which his sway extended was called by the Chinese Nan Chao; he waged several wars with the Chinese and Thibetans, afterwards becoming reconciled with the former, who agreed to a marriage between his son and a Chinese princess.

On ascertaining from the works of European scholars that the original home of the Thai was known to the Chinese as Nan Chao, I commissioned Khun Chen Chin Akshara (Sut Chai) to examine the historical works in the Chinese language which are to be found in the National Library at Bangkok. In the composition named "The 24 Dynastic Histories" under the section designated "T'ang Annals," which deals with foreign countries at the time when the T'ang dynasty ruled in China, he discovered the following account of Nan Chao.

Nan Chao was situated in the present Chinese province of Yünnan; on the North-West it bordered upon the country of T'u Fan (*i.e.*, Thibet), and on the South-West upon that of Ch'iao Chih (*i.e.*, that portion of the Khmer dominions which forms the Annam of to-day.) The region of Nan Chao included six large independent states, namely, Mung Sui, Yüeh Shê, Lang Ch'iung, Têng T'an, Shih Lang and Mung Shê. Of these the largest was Mung Shê, which lay far to the South and at the present time exists still as a frontier-post.

The word "Nan" in the name Nan Chao means "South" in the Chinese language; "Chao" was an honorific title given by the

people themselves to their king and is identical with the Siamese word "chao" (lord), which corresponds to the Chinese "Ong" (翁). Nan Chao may thus be translated as "the country of the Southern Lord." (For the better understanding of my readers I shall henceforward refer to Nan Chao as "the original country of the Thai").

The "24 Dynastic Histories" makes its first mention of the above country at the period when the Chinese Empire was divided up into three kingdoms, the ruler of one of which was King Liu Pei who reigned over Ssŭchu'an. The latter was succeeded on his death by King Hou Chu, in the second year of whose reign (B. E. 768) K'ung Ming invaded and conquered the Thai country. (In the composition known as "Sām Kok" this invasion is referred to as the war with Mêng Huo). The six Thai states were unable to withstand K'ung Ming, and they accordingly acknowledged the suzerainity of Ssŭch'uan. No further allusion is made to the Thai until the year B. E. 1193, when it is stated that, in the reign of the Chinese Emperor Kao Tsung (the third monarch of the T'ang dynasty), there was a Thai King named Hsi Nu Lo who ruled at Mung Shê and who despatched an embassy to cultivate friendly relations with the sovereign of China. The narrative recounts further that, after the death of King Hsi Nu Lo, there followed a succession of Thai rulers one of whom, King P'i Lo Ko, united to his own state the five other Thai principalities (termed by the Chinese "Chao") which had still retained their independence. This King P'i Lo Ko also despatched an embassy to cultivate friendly relations with the Emperor of China.

Later, in the year B. E. 1286, in the reign of the Chinese Emperor Yüan Tsung (the sixth of the T'ang dynasty), ambassadors from the original country of the Thai again visited China; the Emperor sent an imperial letter and presents in return and a close friendship between the Chinese and the Thai was established. Soon afterwards King P'i Lo Ko conquered several dependencies comprised within the frontiers of Thibet, in one of which he set up a new capital.

King P'i Lo Ko died in the year B. E. 1293 and was succeeded by his son Ko Lo Fung, who in his turn established relations of friendship with China. One day, whilst on a visit to the Chinese border where it adjoined Thai territory at the city of Yünnan, he was treated disrespectfully by the Chinese officials in charge of the frontier districts. Incensed at this treatment King Ko Lo Fung led an army into China, capturing thirty-two districts in the province of Yünnan and setting up his capital at Yünnan city.

In B. E. 1294, the Emperor of China despatched a great army to retake this same city. King Ko Lo Fung thereupon sent messengers to the Chinese commander to announce his willingness to make a treaty of friendship as before, and to return certain of the conquered districts to China. The Chinese commander, however, would not agree to these proposals; he imprisoned the Thai emissaries and proceeded to attack Yünnan city but was defeated and forced to retreat by King Ko Lo Fung. The Emperor of China then ordered the raising of a new army; but the troops had not yet begun their march when news was received that cholera had broken out at Yünnan. The Chinese soldiers deserted from fear of this disease, and the threatened attack was consequently never delivered. Anticipating that he would be obliged to wage war with China again, King Ko Lo Fung thereupon made a treaty with the King of Thibet, hoping for assistance from that country in combating the Chinese.

In B. E. 1297, the Chinese advanced to the attack of Yünnan city once more. On that occasion King Ko Lo Fung lured them into marching to the city of Ta Ho Ch'ing, where he surrounded them with his own troops, thus cutting off supplies and preventing a further advance on the part of the enemy. The Chinese army being compelled to retire owing to lack of provisions and to an outbreak of cholera in its ranks, King Ko Lo Fung led the Thai forces in pursuit of it and routed it. The Chinese attacked Yünnan city on many subsequent occasions, but were in every case repulsed by the Thai with great loss.

In B. E. 1322, in the reign of the Emperor Tai Tsung, the eighth of the T'ang dynasty, King Ko Lo Fung died. He was followed as ruler of the original country of the Thai by his grandson, I Mou Hsün. In the same year, a Thai army in conjunction with troops from Thibet advanced against Ssŭch'uan, but the attack failed and the combined forces were obliged to retire.

In B. E. 1330, in the reign of the Emperor Tê Tsung, the ninth of the T'ang dynasty, the chief minister of state in the original Thai country was a nobleman of Chinese race named Chên Kuei. This personage had formerly been a district officer in the district of Shui Chou and had been taken prisoner by the Thai when King Ko Lo Fung invaded China. The King observed that he was a man of learning and appointed him tutor to his grandson I Mou Hsün, who on ascending the throne made of him his first minister. Chên Kuei perceived that the people suffered great hardship and much loss of life on account of the continual wars between the Thai, the Thibetans and the Chinese. He realised that, if the Thai and the Chinese became friends, the Thibetans would no longer dare to invade China and that an end would be put to these wars. He submitted the above considerations to King I Mou Hsün, who concurred in them and despatched ambassadors to China with proposals of friendship. The Emperor of China was agreeable; in his turn he sent an embassy to the Thai King, and from that time forward the original country of the Thai and China were on amicable terms. But the Thibetans, on hearing news of this, became distrustful of the Thai.

In B. E. 1337, the King of Thibet led an army against China and sent a letter asking for help from the Thai. King I Mou Hsün made a pretence of advancing with his forces to the assistance of the Thibetans, but when a suitable opportunity occurred he fell upon their army and dispersed it. He took possession of sixteen Thibetan provinces and led many Thibetans into captivity.

In B. E. 1372, in the reign of the Emperor Wê Tsung, the fourteenth of the T'ang dynasty, the Chinese

governor of Ssŭch'uan oppressed the people of his province heavily and numbers of Chinese soldiers fled to the king of the original Thai country for protection. The Thai king at that period was a monarch named Ts'o Tien, by whom the refugees from Ssŭch'uan were treated with great kindness. He placed them later in the van of an army with which he attacked and seized the districts of Shui Chou, Yung Chou and Kung Chou, dependencies of Ssŭch'uan. The Chinese forces, however, were assembled in time to meet him at the inner frontier of the province. Perceiving that they could not conquer Ssuch'uan itself, the Thai retreated to their own country carrying with them much booty and many captives.

In B. E. 1401, in the reign of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung, the sixteenth of the T'ang dynasty, the ruler of Annam, which was then a dependency of China, was led by his cupidity into buying horses and cattle from thieves who had stolen them from the original Thai country. For this reason a Thai army advanced into Annam, pillaging the land before it returned home.

In the original country of the Thai the royal line descended as far as King Fung Yu, who at his death was followed on the throne by his son, King Shih Lung. The Emperor of China held the latter in aversion for bearing a name identical with that of one of the sovereigns of the T'ang dynasty. The Emperor refrained, therefore, from sending a mission to attend the obsequies of King Fung Yu in accordance with the custom between friendly states. King Shih Lung, being incensed on account of this treatment, invaded and conquered the district of Po Chou in China.

In B. E. 1403, in the reign of the Emperor I Tsung, the seventeenth of the T'ang dynasty, one Tū Sīo Cheng, who may have been either a Thai or a Chinese and who lived on the borders of Annam, entered into that country with a following and pillaged a number of districts. This individual engaged in combat with the ruler of Annam, by whom he was slain, and his adherents fled to Po Chou for refuge, whereupon the ruler of Annam pursued them with his army and crossed the frontier into

Po Chou. In revenge for this action the Thai invaded and conquered Annam, and they subsequently attacked also the district of Yung Chou, in the province of Kuang Tung in China. The Annamites, however, succeeded in regaining possession of their country.

In B. E. 1404, a high Chinese mandarin of Sīeng Ān named Tū Chong represented to the Emperor of China that, as the Thai had grown very powerful, whilst the Chinese forces guarding the marches of Ssŭch'uan on the other hand were insufficient and feeble, it would be well to make a friend of the Thai King with a view to dissuading him from disturbing China. The Emperor agreed and was about to despatch an embassy for this purpose, when he heard that a Thai army had taken Shui Chou. The sending of an embassy was therefore postponed.

In B. E. 1405, a Thai army again invaded Annam, the ruler of which country requested help from the Chinese. On learning that a Chinese force was advancing to assist the Annamites, the Thai withdrew.

In B. E. 1406, the king of the original country of the Thai invaded Annam with yet another army. The Annamites again sought the aid of the Chinese, but the Thai had overcome them before the Chinese troops could arrive. Having thus subdued Annam, the Thai king appointed officers to take charge of the country and returned home once more.

In B. E. 1407, the Thai attacked and took Yung Chou in China, but the Chinese were able to win the district back.

In B. E. 1409, the Emperor of China sent an army into Annam which was successful in winning it back from the Thai.

In B. E. 1413, the Thai king invaded the province of Ssŭch'uan, subduing the districts on the road to Ch'êng Tu, the capital, which he reached and to which he laid siege. But the Emperor of China despatched an army to the relief of the city and saved it from capture by the Thai, who thereupon withdrew and returned home.

In B. E. 1418, in the reign of the Emperor Hsi Tsung, the eighteenth of the T'ang dynasty, the Thai made another, but unsuccessful, effort to seize the frontier districts of Ssŭch'uan.

In B. E. 1420, the Thai monarch Shih Lung died and was succeeded by his son Fa. (It would seem that this latter prince before his accession must have borne the title of "Phra" in some capacity, and that the Chinese, not knowing his real name, called him simply "Fa.") This king sent a letter to the Emperor of China containing proposals for peace. Inasmuch as, during the previous twenty years, Thai armies had invaded China almost every year, thereby bringing the greatest calamities upon the population, the Emperor agreed to the proposals in question. After friendly relations had been thus established, the Emperor wished to repair the fortifications on the border between China and the original Thai country, but he feared lest the Thai monarch should suspect his motive for doing so. He therefore arranged a stratagem, in accordance with which a Chinese monk named Cheng King Sien was sent to visit the original Thai country in the guise of a wandering ascetic. This monk was received by King Fa with respect and was admitted to terms of intimacy with him. He then advised the monarch to cement his alliance with China by seeking the Emperor's daughter in marriage for his son. King Fa agreed to the suggestion and, in B. E. 1423, despatched an embassy for the purpose of bearing a letter and presents to the Emperor of China, who consented to the bestowal of his daughter's hand as desired.

In B. E. 1424, King Fa accordingly sent a mission to receive the Princess An Hoa Tch'ang, who was duly married to his son.

The composition known as "The 24 Dynastic Histories" gives no further account of Nan Chao (*i.e.*, the original country of the Thai). As regards the Chinese rendering of the names of the Thai Kings, it is quite impossible to say what were the various equivalents in the Thai language.

For the subsequent history of the original Thai country we must turn to the works of European scholars, which tell us that the family of King Hsi Nu Lo ruled for thirteen generations, extending over a period of 255 years. The customs of the country became more and more assimilated to those of China, owing to the continual influx of Chinese settlers, which probably began from the date when the Emperor's daughter was given in marriage to the son of King Fa. In B. E. 1797, the Mongols of the Yüan dynasty conquered China, extending their territory to the South-West and subduing the original Thai country at the same time as they conquered Burma. Nan Chao thereafter lost its independence and came under the suzerainty of China.

At the period when the Thai were still powerful in their original home, those of the same race who had set up an independent state in the valley of the Salwin began to feel the pressure of over-population. Numbers of them for that reason emigrated further and settled to the Westward in the valley of the River Irawaddy, in what is now Burma. Hence we find that even in Arakan and Assam there was once a Thai population, the descendants of which exist to the present day. It will be remembered that other Thai settlers had established themselves in the state of Muang Thaeng. The "Phongsāwadān Yonok" agrees with the annals of Wieng Chand (Vien-tiane) in saying that Khun Parama whilst he was king extended the frontiers of this state as follows. To the East, Thai settlers were sent out to the region of the Hua Phan Hā Thang Hok and to Tonkin; to the West, they were sent out to the region known to-day as the Sibsong Phan Nā; whilst to the South, they were sent out to the district of Muang Sao (the present Luang Phrabāng), thus for the first time bringing country occupied by the Thai in that direction into contiguity with that of the Khmers. From that period onwards, the Thai continued to found colonies in the South in increasing numbers until, about the year 1400, a powerful Thai monarch named King Brahma (the first of King U Thong's line) succeeded in wresting territory from the Khmers as far down as Muang Chalieng, thus pushing the frontiers of the Thai country into what is now the provincial circle of Bāyab. King Brahma then built the

city of Jaya Prākār (now Muang Jaya in the district of Chīeng Rāi), which was the first Thai settlement on the Southern bank of the River Mekhong.

The Burmese.

The Burmese and Peguan annals, like our own Northern annals, give to events a date earlier than the actual facts warrant. The reason for this lies in the desire of the compilers to link up the history of their own country with the period of the Buddha, so that they may have the glory of referring back to the Sakya line, to the person of the Buddha himself and to the astrological predictions connected with him. The chronology of the earlier portions of the Burmese and Peguan annals thus furnishes points of much difficulty for conjecture on the part of students of antiquity. In the following account I shall only narrate events in accordance with what we may believe to be the truth. Long ago, a branch of the Mon-Khmer (ขอม) race, which came afterwards to be called Mons or Peguans (รามัญ), had extended their settlements as far as the lower valley of the Irawaddy River. To the North of them dwelt another race, the origins of which are not exactly known, but which may have had affinities with the Lāo. At about the beginning of the Buddhist era, a body of Indian emigrants descended the upper waters of the Irawaddy and established the independent state of Thatôn. Later on, when the Thai who had settled in the valley of the Salwin grew more powerful, they pushed their frontiers into the Irawaddy valley and took possession of Thatôn. The people of the latter country fled Southwards from the Thai and founded the state of Sārakhetr near the district in which the city of Prae or Prome was afterwards built. At that time, Indian merchants were in the habit of visiting Burma and Pegu and had established settlements there, just as had happened further South. There was also a people, afterwards known as the Burmese, which had come down from their original home on the confines of India and Thibet and had settled in the Irawaddy valley. These Burmans descended in increasing

numbers and finally became masters in that region by wresting the power from the hands of the greater Thai and of the first founders of Thatôn. They had a king who set up his capital at Pagan, where an independent Burmese state was established about the year B. E. 1200. A succession of monarchs followed until, about B. E. 1600, there reigned at Pagan a powerful king named Anuruddha, who is called Anōradhā Mang Cho in our Northern annals and who subdued the various other states situated in the valleys of the Irawaddy and of the Salwin. The period was one in which the might of the Khmers was declining; King Anuruddha accordingly brought them into subjection under him and extended his territory as far as the valley of the River Chao Phyā. Our Northern annals tell us that his dominions reached to the city of Lavō.

The Burmese and Peguan annals agree with many accounts of our own in stating that King Anuruddha was a very devout follower of the Buddhist faith, which he supported in our part of the world as King Asōka had done formerly in Magadha. The circulation of the Tripitaka in our land dates from the time when King Anuruddha procured copies of them from Ceylon.

The Burmese annals state that there existed formerly a city called Thatôn under an independent ruler who was a devout Buddhist and the builder of many splendid cetiyas and vihāras. In the course of the wars which King Anuruddha waged in order to extend his dominions, he is said to have attacked and taken this city of Thatôn, leading away its population into captivity at Pagan. Thatôn remained thenceforward in a state of abandonment; plans were, however, made of such of its monasteries, cetiyas and vihāras as attracted the eye of King Anuruddha and these plans were followed by him and by his successors in the erection of new buildings at Pagan. Thus it is that Pagan possesses a larger number of old cetiyas and vihāras than is to be found in any other city of Burma or Pegu, as may be seen at the present day. When dealing with this subject in his work on Burma, Sir George Scott says that there are no indications that there were at Thatôn very many ancient cetiyas and vihāras, as alleged in the Burmese

Annals. He imagines that King Anuruddha must have taken his models from Angkor Wat in Cambodia. On reading the above expression of opinion, I could not help regretting that Sir George Scott had not investigated this question when he was British Chargé d'Affaires in Siam, as he was a friend of mine and, if he had mentioned the matter to me, I would have taken him on a week's visit to Nagor Pathom to search among the ruins there. He would then have seen the still visible traces of an abundance of ancient cetiyas and vihāras which date from before the period of King Anuruddha. The models for the buildings at Pagan were taken from no other place than Nagor Pathom. I venture to insist on this statement, inasmuch as at Angkor Wat there are no stūpas of the Buddhist type. And other evidence exists to support my assertion in the shape of the printed impressions of the Buddha which have been dug up at Nagor Pathom and the like of which have not been found anywhere else in our part of the world, excepting only at Pagan. Still further proof is furnished by the discovery at Nagor Pathom of some ancient silver coins bearing a conch upon one side. I sent specimens of these to various quarters, including the British Museum in England, enquiring whether similar coins had been found at other places. I received a reply to the effect that their counterpart had been discovered only at Pagan. The above evidence is sufficient to justify the belief that the city of Thatôn which King Anuruddha is said to have conquered was in reality Nagor Pathom. He may even, perhaps, have received the Buddhist faith there. As Nagor Pathom was abandoned from the year B. E. 1600 onwards, no local history of the place exists.

We do not know for certain how far King Anuruddha succeeded in extending his dominions. The Burmese and Peguan annals say that they were vast, that on the South the conquests of this monarch reached as far as the chief centre of Khmer rule at Angkor Wat and that on the North he fought even with China (in order to obtain possession of a tooth of the Buddha.) In so far as Siam is concerned, we may believe that King Anuruddha destroyed the power of the Khmers throughout the whole of the valley of the Chao Phyā River on both of its banks. When he had

seized upon this region, it would appear that he set up in it a number of small separate states each of them under the suzerainty of Pagan. This is possibly to be gathered from our Northern annals, where it is stated that King Candajōti of Lavō gave his elder sister Chao Fā Kaeo Prabāl to King Anuruddha in marriage and that Lavō and Pagan thereafter remained on terms of friendship. (The compiler of the Northern Annals wrongly gives to Pagan the name of Thatôn.)

The rise of Siam under the Thai.

In the "Phongsāwādan Yōnok" it is stated that, about the year B. E. 1400, King Brahma came down and wrested territory from the Khmers in the modern provincial circle of Bāyab, where he built the Thai city of Jaya Prākār. We may assume that from this period onwards, after an advance had thus been effected into Bāyab, the number of Thai emigrants who penetrated into that district increased steadily. But it would seem from the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" that the country occupied by those of the Thai who crossed to the South of the Mekhong River was split up into petty principalities independent of one another, with no common centre of government unless such existed in the parent state which had been established in the region of the Sibsong Chu Thai. I believe that it was between the years B. E. 1400 and 1600 that the Thai first began to settle in the lower valley of the Chao Phyā River, which was then still in the hands of the Khmers. When, soon after B. E. 1600, King Anuruddha overcame the Khmers numbers of the Thai were in all probability already established there. After the conquests of King Anuruddha the Khmer power came to an end; but I think that the Burmese from Pagan kept a real hold over the valley of the Chao Phyā only during the reign of King Anuruddha or for a very short time afterwards. Thai from the North subsequently came down and joined with the earlier Thai settlers in overcoming both the Khmers and the Burmese from Pagan. From that time power over the various states in the lower Chao Phyā valley passed into the hands of the Thai.

For the space of two hundred years, between B. E. 1650 or a little later and B. E. 1850, the Thai who had remained in their original home in Yünnan were gradually losing their independence before the onsets of Kublai Khan and the Mongols who were the conquerors of China and of Burma. On the other hand, the Thai who had emigrated in the direction of Siam rose to a great height of power, the lesser Thai obtaining possession of the valley of the River Chao Phyā and of the whole of the Malay Peninsula. They may perhaps also have acquired at that time territory occupied by the Khmers in the valley of the Mekhong, but we do not yet know exactly where the frontiers of the Thai and the Khmers then met. As regards Burma, soon after the conquest of Pagan by the Mongols in B. E. 1827, the greater Thai obtained dominion over that Kingdom and thus became masters of the land. In Southern Pegu a Thai family which hailed from Sukhōdaya—the family of Makathō, who are said by Sir Arthur Phayre in his history of Burma to have been Thai and not Mons—secured possession of the country, over which their kings ruled for several generations throughout the dynasty of King Rājādhirāja.

From an examination of the geography and antiquities of the region, I believe that some nine large states were set up by the Thai who at that period acquired dominion over the lower portion of the valley of the River Chao Phyā. These states were as follows:—On the East Svargalōk (Sawankaloke), Sukhodaya (Sukhothai), and Kambaeng Bejr (Kamphaeng Phet); on the West, U Thong, Nagor Pathom, Rājapurī (Ratburi), Bejrpurī (Petchaburi), Jayā (Chaiya), and Nagor Çrī Dharmarāj (Nakhon Si Thammarat).

We do not know what was originally the religion of the Thai. Such records as we have tell us that the Thai, including those in China as well as those who settled in the valleys of the Mekhong and of the Chao Phyā, or in those of the Salwin and the Irawaddy, were all of them followers of the Buddhist faith. When the Thai came down and made themselves masters of the lower valley of the Chao Phyā, the religion professed by the people of those parts then probably consisted of a mixture of Buddhism and Brahmanism. The doctrines of the former were observed, but the cosmogony

accepted was that of the Brahman teachers, whose religion was accordingly held in reverence. The Thai on their arrival must have adopted the religious beliefs and the customs of the original population.

As regards the various legends which are reproduced in our Northern annals, such as those of Phyā Kong and Phyā Bhāṇ, of Phra Phan Vassā, of King Sāi Nam Phūng and of Phra Ruang, I believe that they date from the days when the Thai were in process of establishing themselves in the South and that they rest upon a distinct foundation of truth. But they relate to a number of different places, and at first must have taken the form of tales which were narrated orally from one person to another. Afterwards, they were selected and were brought together so as to make a connected history; but the compiler had no means of discovering the proper sequence of the stories or how far in the course of oral tradition they had deviated from the truth. He merely attempted to arrange the legends which were current into a chronological order of a sort, the result being medley and confusion. This may be seen from an examination of the story of Phyā Kong and Phyā Bhāṇ. The Northern annals tell us that at first Phyā Bhāṇ did not know that Phyā Kong was his father; after he had killed the latter he became aware of the relationship and desired to expiate his offence. He was advised for this purpose to build a cetiya which should be as high as a dove can soar. Phyā Bhāṇ was unequal to performing this task but, discovering the great cetiya at Nagor Pathom, which was then a deserted city, he surmounted it with a prāṅg the summit of which attained the requisite height. This account assuredly has a basis of truth, for the representation of the cetiya as it once was, which is to be found upon its South side, still exists to-day as evidence of the fact that a prāṅg actually was built on top of the original cetiya. But a story similar to that of Phyā Kong and Phyā Bhāṇ as related in the Northern annals has been found by His Majesty the present King in Brahmanic literature, from which it appears that the tale is really an account of an incident which occurred long ago in the country of Majjhima. Hence we may perceive that some parallel incident must have taken place in Siam, which was recounted orally from person to

person until the story became confused with the Indian tale as heard from the Brahmans, the two combining to form one legend. So also with the stories of Phra Ruang Aruṇ Kumāra and of Phra Ruang Suei Nam which are set forth in the Northern annals. From the stone inscriptions and from subsequent investigations we learn that these two legends are in reality one and the same tale, and that they refer to events which actually occurred, though without the portents and marvels related in the annals. They took place shortly before the founding of Ayuddhyā, that is to say, at dates later than those which the annals assign to them.

The History of King U Thong.

Among the legends which arose at the period when the Thai were establishing themselves in the lower valley of the River Chao Phyā, there is one in especial which is connected with the history of Ayuddhyā, namely, the story of how the ancestors of King U Thong came to settle in the South. Both the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" and the short history of Prince Paramānujit agree in giving the following account.

About the year of the dog 550 of the Chula era (B. E. 1731), there lived a Thai King of the dynasty of King Brahma, (the monarch who first extended the Thai domain by overcoming the Khmers and who took possession of the present provincial circle of Bāyab as far down as Muang Chalīeng.) The above-mentioned descendant of King Brahma was named King Jaya Çiri and he reigned at Jaya Prākār. His country was invaded by the Peguans and, being unable to withstand his enemies, he fled Southwards, where he came upon a deserted city named Muang Paeb, in the neighbourhood of Kambaeng Bejr. On the site of this city he established a new capital which was called Traitrüngs. King Jaya Çiri ruled over Muang Paeb until his death and had been followed by four other monarchs of his dynasty, when King U Thong was born about 160 years afterwards.

In recounting the circumstances attending King U Thong's birth, the short history states that a daughter of the king

of Muang Paeb gave birth to a son the identity of whose father was unknown. On consulting the omens it was ascertained that he was not of royal blood. (The short history states that he was of of humble origin and was named Nai Saen Pom.) Being overcome with shame, the King of Muang Paeb thereupon drove his daughter and her son out of the city together with the child's father. The latter was blessed with good fortune and founded the city of Deb Nagor, over which he became ruler in the year of the goat 681 of the Chula era (B. E. 1862) under the title of King Ciri Jaya Chīeng Saen. He is said to have made a cradle ("U"—อู่) of gold ("thong kham"—ทองคำ) for his son to sleep in it, the child being therefore named Prince U Thong because he lay in a golden cradle. King Ciri Jaya Chīeng Saen reigned at Deb Nagor for twenty-five years and died in the year of the monkey 706 of the Chula era (B. E. 1887.) He was succeeded by King U Thong.

The Northern annals furnish a different version of King U Thong's life from the above—a version which we have no means of corroborating. They state that, after Phyā Kraek had been followed by three successors on the throne, there remained only a Princess to continue the royal line. Two rich nobles named Jōṭaka and Kāla, respectively, then deliberated together and selected the lord U Thong, who was a son of the former, to marry the Princess and to rule over the city (the name of which is not given.) Six years later, the city was visited by a pestilence, whereupon King U Thong abandoned it, and founded the city of Ayuddhyā at Nong Sanō.

In an account which His Majesty King Mongkut composed and gave to Dr. Dean and which was published in the "Chinese Repository" at Canton in the year of the pig 1213 of the Chula era (A. D. 1851), it is said that King U Thong was the son-in-law of King Ciri Jaya Chīeng Saen, that he inherited the throne through his consort and that, when he had reigned for six years, his capital was visited by a pestilence with the result that he set up a new capital at Ayuddhyā.

The history of King U Thong, as given in old writings, is as set forth above.

Yet another account is current to this day in the district of Subarṇapurī (Suphanburi), according to which King U Thong formerly lived in that neighbourhood, the ruins of the city over which he ruled still existing on the banks of the river Chorakhe Sām Phan between the present town of Subarṇapurī and Kāñcanapurī (Kanburi). In the year of the hare 1265 of the Chula era (A. D. 1903), I myself paid a visit to this city of U Thong and found there the traces of an ancient town with the remnants of great walls. The town is very old and must date from the time of the ancient city at Nagor Pathom, for statues of the Buddha and silver coins have been dug up there which are of the same kind as those found at the latter place. It must, however, be of later origin, since it contains traces of monasteries the shape and construction of which shew that they belong to the early period of Ayuddhyā. It occurred to me at the time of my visit that by the Subarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇabhūmi mentioned on stone inscriptions and in ancient writings may have been meant this very city of U Thong, and not the present town of Subarṇapurī which was built subsequently. The word "Suvarṇabhūmi" signifies in the Pāli language "source of gold" ("thong"—ทอง—"gold"), or "place where gold exists." In Siamese this may be rendered by "U thong" (อู่ทอง), just as we talk of "U khao" (อู่เข้า—a source of rice, a granary) or of "U nam" (อู่น้ำ—a source from which water is supplied, a reservoir.) U Thong may thus have been the Thai equivalent of the name Suvarṇabhūmi. This conclusion led me to the further one that the name King U Thong was not derived from the fact that the bearer of it slept in a golden cradle, as is asserted by the histories; it may have been a name indicating the rulers of the city of U Thong. (Similarly we may speak of the Chief of Chīengmai or of Nān.) Each ruler of U Thong must have borne this title, and therefore the King (of) U Thong who founded Ayuddhyā, (it matters not from what line he may have been descended or what may have been his origin), must

previously to the establishment of the new city have ruled at U Thong or, as it is called in Pāli, Suvaṇṇabhūmi. The story current to-day among the people of Subarṇapurī is thus a true one. I embodied the above considerations in an official report which I drew up on the district in question and which was printed in February of the year of the snake, 1267 of the Chula era (A. D. 1905). The members of the Historical Research Society of Siam afterwards declared their concurrence with my views.

I do not think we can believe the statement in the short history, to the effect that King Jaya Çiri, the ancestor of King U Thong, after he had been vanquished and had suffered the loss of his capital at the hands of the Mahārāja of Sittaung (เมืองสะทอง), fled with his people and set up a new city at Muang Paeb, which was a deserted town on the opposite bank of the river from Kambaeng Bejr. A monarch who had undergone defeat and lost his territory to an enemy would usually be able only to save his own person. It would be difficult for him, at a time when the enemy was already occupying the approaches to his capital, to escape together with his people. Moreover, it is a far journey from Jaya Prākār to Kambaeng Bejr, and it seems likely that King Jaya Çiri, when his capital had been taken, would have fled accompanied only by his immediate following, as did the King of Dhanapurī when he fled from the Burmans to Jālapurī (Chonburi). King Jaya Çiri must thereafter have settled among the Thai inhabitants who had previously colonised the district to which he escaped, and these, observing that he was of high rank, not improbably chose him for their chief. Further, with reference to the statement in the short history that King Jaya Çiri established his new capital at Muang Paeb, where he founded a dynasty which ruled for 160 years before the birth of King U Thong, my studies into the history of that period have shewn to me that the monarch first mentioned cannot have reigned solely at Muang Paeb. There are several grounds for taking this view and they are as follows.

(1) In the "Phongsāwadān Yonok" the founder of a dynasty who is alleged to have come down to Muang Paeb is called King Jaya

Çiri; in the abridged history of Prince Paramānujit the father of King U Thong is named King Çiri Jaya Chīeng Saen. I believe these two names to be identical; the respective compilers of the works in question may have caught the sound differently and have thus made a distinction. Jaya Çiri or Çiri Jaya is also the old name of Nagor Pathom. As I have already explained, it was the ancient custom to call the kings of other countries after the state over which they reigned, as for example the king of U Thong, the Chief of Chiengmai or the Chief of Nān, and this custom has survived until the present time. By the King Jaya Çiri or Çiri Jaya of the Northern records may well have been meant, therefore, the king who ruled over the state of that name, and this consideration leads me to believe that the founder of King U Thong's dynasty settled at Jaya Çiri or Çiri Jaya, *i. e.*, the Nagor Pathom of to-day.

(2) The old records tell us that the founder of King U Thong's dynasty discovered a deserted city, on the site of which he set up his capital. At that period Nagor Pathom had been deserted for nearly a hundred years, ever since the time when King Anuruddha had attacked it and led its inhabitants away into captivity. This circumstance serves further to corroborate my opinion.

(3). In the account written by His Majesty King Mongkut it is stated that King U Thong, before ascending the throne, was the son-in-law of his predecessor. The cities of U Thong and Nagor Pathom are close to one another, and intercourse between them would have been easier than between the former and Deb Nagor, which is said to have been situated at a short distance below Kambaeng Bejr and a full ten days' journey from U Thong.

(4). The founder of King U Thong's dynasty is said to have come down and established himself at Muang Paeb in the year B. E. 1731; he and his successors are stated to have reigned over the city for a period of 160 years prior to the birth of King U Thong. As a matter of fact, that period witnessed the rise of the Kingdom of Sukhodaya under four monarchs of the dynasty of

Phra Ruang, and the establishment of a Western capital of the kingdom at Nagor Pu* upon the site of the present town of Kambaeng Bejr on the bank of the river Me Phing. The ancestors of King U Thong may conceivably have reigned in the neighbourhood of Kambaeng Bejr before Phra Ruang had built up his kingdom, but they could not well have reigned contemporaneously with him after he had done so.

For the above reasons I consider as erroneous the statement appearing in the abridged history of Prince Paramānujit, to the effect that King U Thong's ancestors reigned at Muang Paeb in the neighbourhood of Kambaeng Bejr until the birth of King U Thong himself. I believe that they established themselves at Nagor Pathom, if not at first, then at some later date. I leave it to the student of antiquity to accept my opinion for what it is worth.

At the time of the founding of Ayuddhyā by King U Thong in the year B. E. 1893, the territory occupied by the Thai in the valley of the River Chao Phyā was divided up between two large independent kingdoms, namely, that of Siam—consisting of the realm of Sukhōdaya, with its capital at the city of the same name—and that of Lān Nā Thai—consisting of the realm of Haribhuñjaya, with its capital at Chīengmai.

I must give an account, even though it be but a brief one, of these two kingdoms, inasmuch as their history is intimately bound up with, and if known will lead to a better understanding of, the history of Ayuddhyā.

The Kingdom of Sukhōdaya.

As far as can be conjectured to-day, the Kingdom of Sukhōdaya was established as an independent state about the year of the Chula Era 600, coinciding with the year 1160 of the Great Era (Mahā Çakarāj) and with the year 1781 of the

* "Nagor Pu" is the result of misreading an inscription. The correct form is "Nagor (Phra) Jum." [Translator's Note.]

Buddhist Era. We are accustomed to call every one of the kings of Sukhōdaya by the name of Phra Ruang, a fact which might lead to the supposition that there was only one such King. In reality there were five of them throughout the period when Sukhōdaya existed as a sovereign state. The first of these monarchs whose name appears is called in a stone inscription Pho* Khun Çrī Indrāditya. His Majesty the present King, who has made a close study of the Sukhodaya period, is of the opinion that the explanation for our giving to every king of that realm the name of Phra Ruang is to be found in the circumstance that King Crī Indrāditya was originally so called before he ascended the throne. This sovereign is probably identical with the Phra Ruang Suei Nam of Lavō who is said in the Northern annals to have fled Northwards from the Khmers and to have become king of Sukhōdaya; Phra Ruang Suei Nam is stated to have borne the royal name of King Çrī Candra-dhipatī, which very much resembles that of Crī Indrāditya. My own investigations into this period tend to support His Majesty's pronouncement that King Çrī Indrāditya was formerly called Phra Ruang. The custom of thus calling a monarch by his original name is met with later on, as in the cases of (the) King (of) U Thong and of King Mang Long,† and it seems likely that at the time in question King Crī Indrāditya was by many people similarly known as Phra Ruang. The word "Ruang" (รวง) here means "bright" (รุ่ง เรือง) and not "to fall off" (หล่นลงมา). When the monarch under discussion adopted a Sanskrit name for his official designation, he was called Indrāditya, which means in Brahmanic parlance "lord of light." In documents written subsequently in Pali the name Phra Ruang is turned into that language in many ways. The meaning of "bright" is rendered by "Rōcarāja" or by "Aruṇarāja"; the sound "ruang" is in other instances reproduced by words of similar sound in Pāli, such as "Raṅgarāja", "Suraṅgarāja", "Seyyaraṅgarāja", or "Seyyaṇaraṅgarāja." But

* พ่อ *i.e.*, "father." [Translator's Note].

† Known to Europeans as Alaung Phra.

it is remarkable that all these Pāli renderings of the name Ruang refer to King Çrī Indrāditya alone, the other kings being known by other names in every case. We may assume, therefore, that Phra Ruang was the original name of Pho Khun Çrī Indrāditya. In compositions written in the Siamese language, however, every king of Sukhōdāya came afterwards to be wrongly styled Phra Ruang.

The stone inscription states that King Çrī Indrāditya had three sons, the name of the eldest of whom is not known, as he died in youth. The second was called Bān Muang (บานเมือง). The original name of the third is likewise not known to us; but after he had overcome Khun Sām Chon in a single encounter which took place on elephant-back, his father marked his services by giving to him the name of Phra Rāma Khamhaeng.

In the two compositions known as "Sihiṅganidana" and "Jinakālamālinī," respectively, it is stated that Çiri Dharma Nagor (*i.e.*, Nagor Çrī Dharmarāj) was a dependency of Sukhōdaya from the time of King Çrī Indrāditya,* and that the ruler of the former country procured from Ceylon the statue of the Buddha named "Phra Buddha Sihiṅga" and presented it to Rōcarāja, King of Sukhōdaya, in the year B. E. 1500. I believe that the authors of the works mentioned have assigned too early a date to the above incident. I think that the statue known as "Phra Buddha Sihiṅga" must have been obtained in the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng and not in that of King Çrī Indrāditya, for in the latter's day the kingdom of Sukhōdaya was not as yet a very large one. This appears from the stone inscription which recounts

*The "Jinakālamālinī" calls the King of Sukhōdaya at that time by the name of Rōcarāja; the "Sihiṅganidāna" gives to him the names of Seyyaraṅga, Suraṅga or Ramaraṅga. There is little doubt that this monarch is to be identified with the Phra Ruang of popular tradition, whom Prince Damrong again identifies with King Çrī Indrāditya. Vide "Documents sur la Dynastie de Sukhodaya" by Professor Cœdès, published in the Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Volume XVII, No. 2, pp. 43-44. [Translator's Note.]

how Khun Sām Chon, the lord of Muang Chot (ฉอด) (on the River Salwin, known, to-day as the Amphur of Me Sot in the district of Raheng), attacked Raheng with an army, how King Crī Indrāditya advanced to meet him but was routed, and how King Rāma Khamhaeng—then still a Prince—urged his elephant forward to engage that upon which was mounted Khun Sām Chon, whom he defeated and put to flight. Now Raheng is only three days' journey from Sukhōdaya and Muang Chot is distant a further ourney of but three or four days. The situation of these places shows that at that time the frontiers of the Kingdom of Suhōdaya did not reach very far. It is true that the stone inscription relates how King Rāma Khamhaeng extended them by various conquests during the lifetime of his father, but at that date there does not seem to have been sufficient time for the inclusion of Nagor Crī Dharmarāj in such acquisitions of territory.*

There is nothing to indicate the year of King Crī Indrāditya's death; we only know that he was succeeded by Phra Ban Muang his son, who is also named Pālarāja in some documents. We are equally ignorant of any events which marked this latter monarch's reign, as well as of the date of his death. I believe that his reign was not a long one. He was succeeded by King Rāma Khamhaeng, named also in some documents Rāmarāja.

We have many authorities for events occurring in the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng and for their dates. In the first place we learn from the "Rājādhirāja" that Makathō defeated Alima Māng and obtained possession of Martaban in the year of the snake 643 of the Chula Era (B.E. 1824.) This Makathō subsequently became King Fa Rua (or Wareru)and was the founder of the dynasty of King Rajādhirāja. In Sir Arthur Phayre's history of Burma he is said to have been a Thai and not a Mon, an assertion which is borne out by the account given in the "Rājādhirāja," where it is stated that Makatho was originally in the service of the King of Sukhōdaya, with whose assistance he afterwards made himself master of Pegu.

* See, however, footnote on page 48. [Translator's Note.]

Further corroboration exists in the statement appearing on the stone inscription to the effect that Pegu (Haṁsāvatī) became a dependency of Sukhōdaya in the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng.

From the circumstance that Makathō obtained ascendancy over Pegu in the year B. E. 1824 we may infer that King Rāma Khamhaeng was then already seated on the throne of Sukhōdaya. Moreover, he must have commenced his reign some years previously, for the tale runs that Makathō remained in the royal service at Sukhōdaya until he became a high official before establishing himself in Pegu. It is permissible to assume that King Rāma Khamhaeng ascended the throne not earlier than in the year of the ox 639 of the Chula era (B. E. 1820), that is to say, four years prior to the conquest of Martaban by Makathō.

King Rāma Khamhaeng was a very powerful monarch and is to be considered as one of the greatest of the Thai sovereigns. By bringing neighbouring states under his sway, he extended the frontiers of the realm of Sukhōdaya to further limits than had hitherto been known. The stone inscription enumerates his dominions clearly as follows. On the North—Phrae, Nān and the country extending as far as Muang Chawā (*i e*, the Luang Phrabāng of to-day); on the East—Muang Sra Luang (*i.e.*, Bichitr [1]), Muang Song Khwae (*i e.*, the Eastern half of Bisṇulōk), [2] Muang Lom (*i.e.*, Muang Lom Kao or old Muang Lom), Muang Bāchāi (probably Muang Çrī Deb in the valley of the Nam Sak River), Muang Sra Khā (apparently Muang Nong Har or Sakol Nagor), and the country reaching to the Mekhong River as far as Wīeng Chand[3] and Wīeng Kham (the latter being a town situated below Wīeng Chand at a spot not as yet identified); on the South—Muang Gaṇḍī (believed to be the present Bān Gōn,[4] between Kambaeng Bejr and Nagor Svarga), Muang Phrabāng (*i.e.*, the Nagor Svarga[5] of to-day), Muang Phraek (*i.e.*, Sargapurī),[6] Subarṇabhūmi (*i e.* U Thong), Rājapurī,[7] Bejrpurī,[8] Nagor Çrī Dharmarāj[9]

1 Phichit. 2 Pitsanuloke. 3 Vien-Chan. 4 Ban Khone.
5 Nakhon Sawan. 6 Sankhaburi. 7 Ratburi. 8 Petchaburi.
9 Nakhon Si Tammarat.

and the country stretching as far as the outer sea; on the West—Muang Chot, and as we may guess from the inscription, which is here partly obliterated, Tenasserim, Tavoy, Martaban and Toung U, as well as Hamsāvatī as far as the five seas (*i.e.*, the Bay of Bengal). The above were all included within the frontiers of Sukhōdaya in the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng.

It is to be noted that among the states thus mentioned in the stone inscription are not included many which were situated in the modern provincial circle of Bāyab, as for example, Haribhuñjaya and Chīeng Rāi. Similarly, we miss the names of Lavō, Ayōddhyā, Nagor Nāyok, Prāchin, Jalapurī[1] and Chandapurī[2] in the South-East. All these states at that time probably bore different names from their present ones, but we may believe that they were already in existence. Why then are they omitted from the stone inscription of King Rāma Khamhaeng? As regards the states situated within the provincial circle of Bāyab we know the true reason, for in the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" it is stated that at the period in question Khun Meng Rāi was in the ascendancy in Lān Nā Thai, where his dominions comprised an independent realm including Khelāng (*i.e.*, the present Nagor Lampāng), Haribhuñjaya (*i.e.*, the Nagor Lamphūn of to-day), Chīengmai, Chīeng Rāi and Nagor Ngön Yāng (นคร เงิน ยาง—*i.e.*, Chīeng Saen). Phayao formed another independent state under Khun Ngam Muang and, as will be seen later when I shall have to deal with Lān Nā Thai, both Khun Meng Rāi and Khun Ngam Muang were on terms of friendship with King Rāma Khamhaeng. For this reason their respective countries did not become subject to Sukhōdaya. The omission from the stone inscription of the states lying to the South-East is probably to be explained in a different way. I think that Lavō and Ayōddhyā were then either abandoned or included within the frontiers of the state of U Thong. The remaining states may perhaps have still formed part of the ancient Khmer empire.

1 Chonburi. 2 Chantaburi.

Among the states subject to Sukhōdaya in the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng many appear to have been governed by feudal princes of their own. This was certainly so in the case of seven of them, namely, Muang Chawa (Luang Phrabāng), Nān, U Thong, Nagor Çrī Dhārmarāj, Martaban, Hamsāvatī, and Toung U. In some instances, the rulers of these states were related to the royal family of Sukhōdaya.

In the Chinese records translated by Khun Chen Chīn Akshara (Sut Chai), which deal with the treaty relations between Siam and China, our country is called "Hsien Lo." (This name is employed by the Chinese even to-day.) The records explain that "Hsien Lo" consisted formerly of two countries, namely, "Hsien" in the North and "Lo Hu" in the South. Afterwards, "Lo Hu" was conquered by "Hsien," and the two states became merged into one (presumably in the reign of King Phra Parama Rājadhirāja the First of Ayuddhyā).* From that time onwards the Chinese name of "Hsien Lo" came into use. The Chinese word "Hsien" is a rendering of "Siam" and undoubtedly signified the kingdom of Sukhōdaya. The name of the country called by the Chinese "Lo Hu", which is said to have lain to the South of "Hsien", can only be identified with the word "Lavo." The Chinese may have used this term from the days when Lavo still formed part of the Khmer dominions, or when it was still governed by rulers of the dynasty of King Candajōti. It is, however, remarkable that, according to the Chinese records, "Lo Hu" was existing till as late as the period of King Rāma Khamhaeng, as will be seen from the narrative of events which I am about to furnish. We may conclude that by the Chinese name "Lo Hu" was meant latterly the dominions of the King of U Thong. In the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng, Lavō and Ayoddhyā must have formed part of the King of U Thong's dominions, to which the Chinese applied the designation of "Lo Hu" already in use among them.

* In reality before that King's accession. The actual date was B. E. 1892 (A. D. 1349), that is to say, about the time when Ayuddhyā was founded. (Professor Huber, B.E.F.E.-O. IX. p. 586). [Translator's Note.]

In the following paragraphs I have endeavoured to set forth in order the events occurring under the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng which I have traced in the various records.

In the year of the horse 644 of the Chula Era (B. E. 1825), the Mongol Emperor of China Kublai Khan despatched a mandarin called Ho Tzŭ Chih on an embassy to "Hsien" for the purpose of cultivating friendly relations.

In the year of the goat 645 of the Chula era (B. E. 1826), the stone inscription tells us that King Rāma Khamhaeng devised the Siamese alphabet.

In the year of the dog 648 of the Chula era (B. E. 1829), the "Rājādhirāja" states that King Rama Khamhaeng placed Makathō upon the throne of Martaban with the title of King Fa Rua.

In the year of the pig 649 of the Chula era (B. E. 1830),* according to the stone inscription, King Rāma Khamhaeng caused the sacred relics at Çrī Sajanālaya to be exhumed in order that the people might venerate them; he then placed them in a shrine over which was built a cetiya and surrounded the whole with a wall of rock.

In the year of the ox 651 of the Chula era (B. E. 1832), the Chinese records state that "Lo Hu" (the King of U Thong) despatched a first embassy to China.

In the year of the hare 653 of the Chula era (B. E. 1834), according to the Chinese records, "Lo Hu" despatched a second embassy to China.

In the year of the dragon 654 of the Chula era (B. E. 1835),

* Or possibly in the year of the cock 647 of the Chula era (B. E. 1828). See Professor Cœdès, "Notes critiques sur l'inscription de Rāma Khamheng", published in the Journal of the Siam Society, volume XII, part 1, p. 19. [Translator's Note.]

the stone inscription tells us that King Rāma Khamhaeng caused the Manang Çilā* stone seat to be erected.

In the year of the snake 655 of the Chula era (B. E. 1836), the Chinese records state that a second embassy from China came to "Hsien."

In the year of the horse 656 of the Chula era (B. E. 1837), according to the Chinese records, the King of "Hsien," who was named Kan Mu Ting, was summoned to appear at the Imperial Court of China or to send hostages in his stead.

In the year of the goat 657 of the Chula era (B. E. 1838), according to the Chinese records, a first embassy was despatched from "Hsien" to China. At that time "Hsien" was at war with Ma Li Yü Êrh† and the Emperor of China made peace between them.

* มนังศิลาบาตร. The meaning of this phrase is discussed by Professor Cœdès, *loc. cit.*, pp. 17-18. [Translator's Note.]

† The translator is indebted to Profesor Cœdès for the following very interesting note :—

"Here is the full text of the passage :—

"'(In 1295 A. D.) the kingdom of Hsien presented a petition in letters of gold, begging the Court to send a mission into that kingdom. Now, before the arrival of this petition, a mission had already been sent; doubtless, those persons (*i.e.*, the people of Hsien) were not yet aware of the fact. A tablet of plain gold was given to the envoy to wear at his belt. The envoy returned home immediately; an imperial order sent a mission to go with him. As the people of Hsien had been fighting for a long time previously with the Ma-li-yü-êrh, all parties made their submission at that moment. An imperial order was issued enjoining on the people of Hsien : 'Do not harm the Ma-li-yü-êrh, in order that you may keep your promise.'" (Translation by Pelliot, B. E. F. E.-O., IV, p. 242.)

"Professor Pelliot says in a note that that the Ma-li-yü-êrh are probably the people of the "Malaiur" of Marco Polo.

"In an important memoir published in the "Journal Asiatique" (May-June and July-August, 1918), Monsieur G. Ferrand seeks to prove that the word "Malāyu," which originally designated the state of Minang-kabaw in Sumatra, afterwards came to designate the Malay settlement in the Peninsula, around Malacca. His conclusions, if exact, go to show that, at the period of Rāma Khamhaeng, the Thai of Sukhodaya had "a long time previously" reached the South of the Malay Peninsula, and that they

In the year of the monkey 658 of the Chula era (B. E. 1839), the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" states that Phyā Meng Rāi founded

had consequently passed beyond Nagor Çrī Dharmarāj. It is possible, however, that the struggles between the Thai and the Malays to which the Chinese text alludes may have been waged in a theatre more to the North. Here are my reasons for this supposition.

"The inscription in Cambodian which is engraved upon the base of a statue of the Buddha at Wat Penchamapabitra in Bangkok, and which I have studied in my "Royaume de Çrīvijaya" (B. E. F. E.-O. XVIII., vi., pp. 33 *et seq.*), is in the name of a king named Mahārāja Çrīmat Trailokyarāja Maulibhūṣanavarmadeva. This king, whom I had taken to be a king of San-fo-ch'i = Çrīvijaya = Palembang in Sumatra, is in reality a king belonging to a dynasty which reigned in Malāyu = Minangkabaw in Sumatra in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. (Vide: N. J. Krom —"Een Sumatraansche Inscriptie van Koning Kṛtanagara"—Verslagen en Mededeelingen, 1916, pp. 327, 333.) Now the above statue was found at Jaiya. Even if that locality is not its true place of origin, it assuredly comes from the *North* of the Peninsula, for the inscription is in Cambodian and emanates from the country of Grahi, the Chia-lo-hsi of the Chinese, which we know to have bordered on South-Western Cambodia. Thus, at the period when the statue was cast (probably in the 13th. century), the influence of Malāyu, i. e. of Minangkabaw in Sumatra, extended as far up as Jaiya and the Bay of Bandon. The Thai from Sukhodaya in their descent Southwards may, therefore, have entered into conflict with the Malays much further North than Malacca. But that they pushed their raids very far to the South appears from the following passage in the Chinese work "Tao I Chih Lio," composed towards 1350 A.D. :

'The people of Hsien are much given to piracy; whenever there is an uprising in any other country, they at once embark in as many as an hundred junks with full cargo of sago (as food) and start off and by the vigor of their attack they secure what they want. (Thus) in recent years they came with seventy odd junks and raided Tan-ma-hsi (=Tumasik=Singapore or Johore) and attacked the city moat. (The town) resisted for a month, the place having closed its gates and defending itself, and they not daring to assault it. It happened just that an Imperial envoy [of the Chinese Court] was passing by (Tan-ma-hsi), so the men of Hsien drew off and hid, after plundering Hsi-li.' (Translation by Rockhill, T'oung-Pao, XVI, pp. 99-100.)

"To sum up, it is possible that, from the time of Çrī Indrāditya, the Thai of Sukhodaya—those bold adventurers—may have reached and gone beyond Nagor Çrī Dharmarāj. But even in the time of Rāma Khamhaeng their suzerainty over this region must have been somewhat restricted, since Marco Polo, who visited the country of Nagor Çrī Dharmararāj at that very period and who describes it in his book under the name of Locac, (see Ferrand, *loc. cit.*, Journal Asiatique, July-August, 1918, p. 138, note 3), tells us that "'it is a good country and rich; *and it has a king of its own.*'"

Chiengmai and that he invited Phyā Ruang (*i.e.*, King Rāma Khamhaeng), and Phyā Ngam Muang, the ruler of Phayao, to come and help him in choosing a site for the new city.

In the year of the cock 659 of the Chula era (B. E. 1840), the Chinese records imply that a second embassy was despatched from "Hsien" to China.

In the year of the rat 662 of the Chula era (B. E. 1843), according to the Chinese records, yet another mission from "Hsien" visited China.

The events of King Rāma Khamhaeng's reign, as known to us from all sources, may be considered from three points of view: (1) that of his internal administration; (2) that of his military conquests; and (3) that of his treaty relations with foreign powers. We shall then see that King Rāma Khamhaeng did not merely use his power to bring neighbouring states under subjection to him, but that he was also a zealous supporter of the Buddhist religion and a benefactor of all the Thai in many ways, as is set forth in the stone inscription dating from his reign. His most important achievement was the invention of the Siamese alphabet, whereby he rendered to the Siamese people a signal service the effects of which are felt to this very day. As regards his relations with foreign states, the following is to be noted. We have positive evidence to show that intercourse between Siam and India existed from the commencement of the Buddhist era or even earlier. Later on, visitors to this country came from Ceylon upon business connected with religious matters; Chāms, Javanese, Malays and finally Chinese also entered into intercourse with Siam from an early period. But there are no records other than the Chinese records already quoted which indicate with certainty what treaty relations, if any, had been set up between our own country and other states. At the period with which the Chinese records deal, however, the Emperors of the Yüan dynasty were in power and had conquered all the regions adjacent to China down as far as Siam. The reigning Emperor, hearing probably that Sukhōdaya

(called "Hsien" by the Chinese) was a powerful state in our part of the world, despatched a first embassy for the purpose of establishing intercourse with its monarch in the year B. E. 1825. Our Northern annals advance the statement that Phra Ruang himself visited China and brought back with him Chinese potters who were the makers of the Saṅgalōk ware. Although this alleged journey on the part of Phra Ruang may not be credited, it is true that Saṅgalōk pottery exists and there can be no doubt that it was manufactured by Chinese artificers both at Svargalōk (Sawankaloke) and at Sukhōdaya. The artificers in question may well have accompanied one or other of the missions sent to China on their return to the latter city.

No record is to be found anywhere of the date of King Rāma Khamhaeng's death; we know only that he was succeeded on the throne by his son King Lö Thai* who reigned until the year of the horse 716 of the Chula Era (B. E. 1897), when he died. But the "Rājādhirāja" affords us an indication which enables us to guess at the respective lengths of the reigns of King Rāma Khamhaeng and of King Lö Thai. The history in question states that King Fa Rua died in the year of the ox 675 of the Chula era (B. E. 1856) and was succeeded by his younger brother Makatā. The latter sent to request that His Majesty Phra Ruang would confer upon him a royal title, as had been done in the case of King Fa Rua, and received the name of King Rāma Pradöt (Pratishṭha?). We may infer from this that in the year B. E. 1856 King Rāma Khamhaeng was still alive. We learn further from the "Rājādhirāja" that, one year after his accession, King Rāma Pradöt was killed by his brother-in-law Saming Mang La, who placed upon the throne his own eldest son, Prince Āo, a grandson of King Fa Rua. This event occurred in the year of the tiger 676 of the Chula era (B. E. 1857), and Prince Āo received from His Majesty Phra Ruang the name of King Saen Muang Ming. In the year just mentioned, therefore, we may again take it that King Rāma Khamhaeng was not yet dead. The "Rājādhirāja" goes on to say that, in the year of the horse 680 of the Chula era

* See second footnote on page 52. [Translator's Note.]

(B. E. 1861), King Saen Muang Ming invaded Tavoy and Tenasserim; it may be assumed that this took place after King Rāma Khamhaeng's death, for during his lifetime King Saen Muang Ming would scarcely have dared to invade territory comprised within the realm of Sukhōdaya. Basing our conclusions upon the dates thus furnished, we must infer that King Rāma Khamhaeng died about the year of the snake 679 of the Chula era (B. E. 1860) after a reign of some forty years, and that his son and successor King Lö Thai reigned for a further period of thirty-six years* after him

King Lö Thai† is known by many names. In a stone inscription which employs the Siamese language he is called Phyā Süa Thai; in the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang he appears as Phyā Leli Thai; in the stone inscription written in the Khmer language he is named Rüthai Jaya Jettha; whilst in the composition styled "Jinakālamālinī" his name is given as Udakajjhōtthatarāja (meaning "the lord who was drowned," an appellation which serves to identify him with the King who is said in the Northern annals to have fallen into the water and to have disappeared.)

We know little of the reign of King Lö Thai, inasmuch as no stone inscriptions of that period have been found.

* See, however, footnote on page 53. [Translator's Note.]

† Professor Cœdès points out that the name Rüthai Jaya Jettha is not be found in the Khmer inscription, but that it appears to have been arbitrarily inserted in the Siamese translation of that inscription made by order of His Majesty the late King Mongkut. Similarly, he shews that the rendering Phyā Süa Thai is due to the mistaken reading of the letter "s" for "l" in the inscription of Nagor Jum. Professor Cœdès concludes that the name of this monarch should properly be written เลอไทย = Lö Thai; he regards as doubtful the identity of the king designated Udakajjhotthata by the "Jinakālamālinī." (See "Documents sur la Dynastie de Sukhōdaya."—B.E.F.E.-O., XVII, ii.) [Translator's Note.]

But such indications as exist lead us to believe that after King Rāma Khamhaeng's death the power of Sukhōdaya began steadily to wane. We learn from the Burmese annals that, in the year of the horse 692 of the Chula era (B. E. 1873), after the death of King Saen Muang Ming, Pegu revolted and that King Lö Thai endeavoured unsuccessfully to quell the rebellion. But although the whole of Pegu then regained its independence, the Burmese annals state that the Thai recovered Tavoy and Tenasserim. These events apparently took place after the founding of Ayuddhyā by King U Thong, and it may perhaps have been his forces, and not those of the King of Sukhōdaya, which gained possession of the two provinces just mentioned, bringing them thereby for the first time under subjection to Ayuddhyā.

In the stone inscription written in the Khmer language which was set up by King Kamrateng Añ Çrī Sūryavaṃça Rāma (i.e. Phyā Li Thai Mahādharmarājā), the following account is given. In the year of the pig 709 of the Chula era (B. E. 1890),* King Lö Thai appointed his son Phyā Li Thai, who had received the name of Phra Çrī Dharmarāja, to be Viceroy over the province of

* The account which follows would appear to be based on a misunderstanding of the Khmer inscription, arising out of the translation made by King Mongkut's pandits. The inscription merely says:—"1269 çaka [B. E. 1890] (year of the) pig, His Majesty Lidaiyarāja, who is the grandson of His Majesty Çrī Rāmarāja, led all his troops out of Çrī Sajanālaya.....to provide exactly for.....Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon of jeṣṭha (sic). At that moment the King ordered to lead.....blood, took all the gates (?), the axe..... struck the enemy.....Then afterwards the King diverted himself supremacy.....Sukhodaya (?).....succeeding to his father and to his grandfather.....(The sovereigns) of the four cardinal points had.....(gave to him) the white umbrella, sprinkled him and gave to him the name of Braḥ Pāda Kamrateñ Añ Çrī Sūryavaṃça Rāma Mahādharmarājadhirāja." (Cœdès, *loc. cit.*, page 13.) It will be seen that, in connection with all the above events, the inscription mentions only one year (B. E. 1890) which, as Professor Cœdès points out, was that of King Li Thai's coronation (abhiṣeka.) His father, King Lö Thai, was presumably already dead at that date. It seems probable that King Li Thai had for seven years previously ruled over Çrī Sajanālaya in the capacity of Uparāja during King Lö Thai's lifetime. [Translator's Note.]

Çrī Sajanālaya; (three years afterwards, in the year of the tiger 712 of the Chula era—B. E. 1893—King U Thong founded Ayuddhyā.) When Phra Çrī Dharmarāja had held the office of Viceroy for seven years, i.e. in the year of the horse 716 of the Chula era (B. E. 1897), King Lö Thai fell ill. (The language of the stone inscription would seem to indicate that disturbances had broken out at Sukhōdaya at that time and that an attempt was being made upon the throne.) On learning the serious state of his father's health, Phra Çrī Dharmarāja set out with an army from Çrī Sajanālaya on the fifth day of the waxing moon and reached Sukhōdaya on the first day of the waning moon in the eighth month. (The distance from Çrī Sajanālaya to Sukhōdaya is not more than 75 miles; Phra Çrī Dharmarāja spent eleven days upon the journey and must have encountered opposition on the way.) The stone inscription goes on the relate how Phra Çrī Dharmarāja entered with his army through the North-Western gate of the city, and how, after subduing his enemies and putting to death such as had harboured evil designs, he ascended the throne in place of his father, who had in the meantime passed away. We must assume from the above narrative that Phra Çrī Dharmarāja did not come by his crown easily and that he had to deal with some trouble, the details of which are unknown to us. He was crowned under the royal name of King Çrī Sūryavaṃça Rāma Mahādharmikarājādhirāja; in other documents he is called either Phyā Li Thai after his original name, or else Phra Mahādharmarājā. The stone inscriptions extol the virtues of this monarch at great length; in the following paragraphs I have embodied the gist of the information so furnished in regard to him, and I have endeavoured to corroborate it by means of particulars gleaned from other sources.

(1). Phra Mahādharmarājā Li Thai was well versed in the Tripitaka (as is evidenced by the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang which was framed at his instigation and has been printed in later times.)

(2). He was skilled in astrology and was able to cast the calendar with precision. (The statement in the Northern annals that Phra Ruang changed the era of reckoning may perhaps refer

to Phra Ruang Li Thai. Evidence to this effect is supplied by the fact that the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang purports to have been drawn up in the year of the cock, "the 23rd. of the era." I have heard of no other King of Sukhōdaya changing the era of reckoning.)

(3). He was versed in vedic ritual and was the first to observe the system laid down in the Sātrāgama. (There is perhaps a connection here with the series of monthly festivals which are stated in the book of the Lady Nabamās to have been held at Sukhōdaya.)

(4). He built a royal residence of brick faced with plaster. (The Lady Nabamās gives the names of the royal residences at Sukhōdaya as follows:—Indrābhisheka, Atirekabhiramya, Uttamarājaçakti, Jayajambhala, Jalavimāna, Viçālasaurasa, Ratananārī, and Crī Apsaras. All the above names have a very modern sound; but, if the buildings thus designated really existed, they must have dated from the period now under discussion and the Lady Nabamās must have been one of the concubines (พระสนม) of King Phra Ruang Mahādharmarājā Li Thai.)

(5). After the erection of his royal residence, King Phra Mahādharmarājā arranged for monks to study the Tripitaka and for Brahmans to study the vedic arts and sciences within its precincts. (It would seem that this refers to the establishment of a school. In the third reign of the present dynasty a similar custom prevailed of arranging for monks to study the sacred texts within the royal palace.)

(6). King Phra Mahādharmarājā sent a mission to bring away certain relics of the Buddha from Ceylon. This statement is corroborated by the other stone inscription which records how, on Friday the fifth day of the waxing moon in the eighth month of the year of the cock 719 of the Chula era (B. E. 1900), King Phra Mahādharmarājā Li Thai erected a

shrine for the reception of sacred relics at Nagor Jum (an old city, the site of which is that of the present town of Kambaeng Bejr.)

(7). In the year of the ox 723 of the Chula era (B. E. 1904), King Mahādharmarājā despatched learned men to invite the Patriarch Mahā Svāmī to come from Ceylon to Sukhōdaya, whither he repaired and resided at the Pā Mamuang (Ambavanārāma) monastery. At the close of Lent in that same year a festival was held to celebrate the casting in "samriddhi" metal (สำฤทธิ์) of a life-sized statue of the Buddha, which was installed in the centre of the city of Sukhōdaya to the East of the shrine enclosing the sacred relics preserved there. (This statue of the Buddha was probably the one known as Phra Çrī Sakyamunī or as the great statue of the Sudasna monastery, which without doubt was originally set up in the vihāra mentioned in the stone inscription. By "life-sized" is meant of the dimensions then ascribed to the person of the Buddha. Phra Mahādharmarājā Li Thai was an adept at calculation, as may be seen from the computation of the age of the Buddhist religion on the stone inscription of Nagor Jum.)

(8). In the year of the ox 723 of the Chula era (B. E. 1904), King Phra Mahādharmarājā adopted the life of a hermit, and was subsequently received into the novitiate by the Patriarch Mahā Svāmī in the Royal Palace. Later he proceeded, together with a chapter of the clergy, to the Pā Mamuang monastery where he was received into full orders as a monk. The stone inscription tells us that, when he was being ordained, there was an earthquake accompanied by various other miraculous disturbances of nature, which the learned men in the King's service recorded by means of the inscription, in order that his merits might become known. We do not know how long King Phra Mahādharmarājā remained in holy orders.* [The stone inscription merely says that,

* The next few sentences—enclosed within brackets—advance statements which are not to be found in the Khmer inscription; they appear only in the so-called translation prepared for King Mongkut. [Translator's Note.]

at the instance of the military and civil officers of state, he abandoned the religious life and was crowned a second time under the style of King Çrī Mahādharmikarājādhirāja. From the Patriarch Mahā Svāmī he also received the additional designations of King Çrī Traibhavadharaṇī Jitasuriyajōti Mahādharmikarājādhirāja.

(9). In memory of his royal father, King Phra Mahādharmarājā caused canals to be dug and a road to be constructed leading from Sukhōdaya to Çrī Sajanālaya and to a number of other towns large and small.] This road is still known as Phra Ruang's highway and runs from Kambaeng Bejr to Sukhōdaya and from thence on to Svargalōk. His Majesty the present King, whilst he was still Crown Prince, traversed its whole length and has given a detailed account of the cities through which it passes in his "Journey through the country of Phra Ruang."

The stone inscription proclaims the state of prosperity which existed at Sukhōdaya during the reign of King Mahādharmarājā; it tells us that the citizens were happy, that there was no slavery and that no foes came to disturb the peace. In brief, it may be said that, just as King Rāma Khamhaeng distinguished himself as an administrator and by the way in which he extended his dominions and augmented his power at the expense of his enemies, so also the just King Mahādharmarājā Li Thai was equally distinguished by the manner in which he governed his realm through the power of righteousness.

It is not known in what year King Mahādharmarājā Li Thai died; towards the end of his reign the history of Sukhōdaya becomes linked up with that of Ayuddhyā, as will be explained later when dealing with the reign of His Majesty Rāmādhipatī the First. It is my opinion that his death occurred shortly before that of the last named monarch. According to the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" he was succeeded by his son, called Phyā Sai Lü Thai, who is called Phra Mahāhdarmarājā of Bisnulok (Pitsanuloke) in the

history of Ayuddhyā. It was he who engaged in war with His Majesty Paramarājādhirāja the First.

All the written documents agree with the stone inscriptions in stating that the Kings who ruled over Sukhōdaya during the period of its independence were five in number. To these may be added a sixth in the person of Phra Mahādharmarājā of Bisṇulok who has just been mentioned.

I would here beg for an opportunity of correcting a mistake which I have made elsewhere, and more especially in my preface to the Traibhūmi of Phra Ruang. I have stated that the King of Sukhōdaya named Phyā Li Thai is a different personage from King Çrī Sūryavaṃça Rāma. As a matter of fact, these two names designated the same monarch. My error was due to an incorrect reading of the dates appearing on the stone inscription of Nagor Jum. I have but recently ascertained that both names without doubt belonged to the same king.

The region of Lān Nā Thai.

The region of Lān Nā Thai consisted of what is now the Provincial Circle of Bāyab which, as I have already stated, was originally inhabited by the Lāo. Exact authorities are lacking for the history of this region during the Lāo period, inasmuch as no Lāo antiquities or stone inscriptions exist for us to examine. Phyā Prajākich Korachakr (Chaem Bunnāk) has endeavoured in the "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" to collect and collate the various written accounts which have been found in the Northern portion of the original Lāo country. There are many such accounts, among them being the story of Suvarṇa Khōm Kham, the story of Siṅhanavati, and compositions in the Pāli language like the story of Chāmadevivonge or the *Jinakālamālinī*. But all these works were

composed by Thai authors after the country had fallen under the sway of the Thai, the writers stating that they had gathered their materials from local tradition. A study of them shews that they cannot in the least degree be regarded as constituting authorities, even approximately accurate, for the history of this part of Siam during the time when the Lāo were masters of it; this statement applies equally to dates, to the names of persons and to the names of places. As I have said previously, we know in a general way that the Northern portion of Siam was occupied formerly by inhabitants of Lāo race. When the Khmers had pushed their frontiers Northwards, the Khmer ruler who resided at Lavō is said to have despatched his daughter, the Princess Chāmadevī, to govern the city of Haribhuñjaya (the present Nagor Lamphūn), which became a seat of government in the North under the Khmers of Lavō and included within its jurisdiction all the Lāo in Bāyab. Truth can scarcely attach to the Northern legend that, at the request of the people of Haribhuñjaya, the King of Lavō sent the Princess Chāmadevī away from her husband to rule over them at a time when she was pregnant. It seems more probable that he despatched his son-in-law, the consort of his daughter, to govern Haribhuñjaya, and that the Princess accompanied him. After founding the state of Haribhuñjaya, the Khmers established yet other colonies in Bāyab, of which the chief one was at Nagor Lampang (then known as Nagor Khelāng). Later, according to the Northern accounts, began the gradual invasion by the Greater and the Lesser Thai of the Northern part of the Lāo country. A short time subsequently to the year B. E. 1600, however, when King Anuruddha had advanced into the valley of the River Chao Phyā, the Lāo succeeded in setting up an independent state once more at Chīeng Saen. The Northern accounts say that the founder of the dynasty which reigned there at that period was named Lāo Chok; compositions in the Pāli language call him Lava Chakkarāja and state that he had many successors who ruled over the Northern portion of the Provincial Circle of Bāyab. One of these, named Khun Chüang, extended his conquests as far as Luang Phrabāng and Annam and was killed in warfare. The Northern Annals assert that the dynasty of Lava Chakkarāja continued to rule

over Northern Bāyab until the time of Khun Meng Rāi (who founded Chiengmai in the year B. E. 1839) and of Khun Ngam Muang, (the King of Phayao), both of whom were independent monarchs and contemporaries of King Rāma Khamhaeng. I believe, however, that Khun Meng Rāi and Khun Ngam Muang were in reality Thai who came down to settle in those parts at the same period as other colonists of Thai race were establishing themselves in the South. I do not think that they were Lao, as the Northern accounts assert, for the region included within the Provincial Circle of Bāyab lay even then between country held by the Thai both to the North and to the South of it; Thai from the North would be obliged to traverse it when going to settle in the South, and it is not likely that the Lāo could have retained their mastery over intermediate territory thus situated. In my opinion, what probably happened was this. When King Anuruddha had carried his conquests into the valley of the Chao Phyā, the Lāo under Lava Chakkarāja regained their independence soon after the year B. E. 1600, but did not keep it for many generations. Then the Thai obtained possession of the country, which remained in their power thenceforward, and acquired from that circumstance the name of Lān Nā Thai.

Reliable dates and narratives in regard to the history of Lān Nā Thai exist from about the year 600 of the Chula era (B. E. 1781.) We learn that at that epoch the region was split up into small states, which were for the most part independent of one another. Of these the three principal were:— (1) Haribhuñjaya, which was formerly the Northern capital of the Khmers in the time of Lavō and which, together with Nagor Khelāng, was still governed by an independent ruler (presumably of Thai race) of its own; (2) Ngön Yāng (afterwards called Chīeng Saen), which was also under an independent Thai ruler; and (3) Phayao which, equally with Haribhuñjaya and Ngön Yāng, possessed an independent Thai government.

About the year 640 of the Chula era (B. E. 1821), two notable figures had arisen in Lān Nā Thai. One of these was

Phyā Ngam Muang, King of Phayao, whom the astrologers' records state to have been born on Thursday, the 15th day of the waxing moon in the 6th month of the year of the dog, 600 of the Chula era (B. E. 1781.) The other was Phyā Meng Rāi, King of Ngŏn Yāng, who, according to the records of the astrologers, was born on Sunday, the 9th day of the waning moon in the 3rd month of the same year. The "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" states that Phyā Ngam Muang was a friend of Phra Ruang of Sukhōdaya, (the time is that of King Rāma Khamhaeng), with whom he had studied under the same preceptor and whom he resembled in his miraculous gifts. Phra Ruang paid frequent visits to him at Phayao and finally became the lover of his Queen (นาง ฟายา). Phyā Ngam Muang discovered this intrigue and called upon Phyā Meng Rāi to adjudicate in the matter. Seeing that a quarrel was threatened which must involve the respective countries of Phra Ruang and of Phyā Ngam Muang in war, Phyā Meng Rāi reconciled the disputants and all three monarchs thereupon swore an oath of friendship for the future.

The above account resembles that given in the Northern Annals, where it is said that Phra Ruang (Aruṇa Kumāra), by following the string of a kite, visited the daughter of Phyā (พระ ยา) Tong U. The two stories probably refer to the same incident.

According to the "Phongsāwadān Yonok" Phyā Meng Rāi founded the city of Chīeng Rāi, at which he established his capital and where he resided for a period. Subsequently, he wrested Haribhuñjaya from Phyā (พญา) Yī Bā and then founded Chīengmai in the year of the monkey 658 of the Chula era (B. E. 1839), during the reign of King Rāma Khamhaeng of Sukhōdaya. The "Phongsāwadān Yōnok" states further that, when about to do this, he invited Phra Ruang and Phyā Ngam Muang, the lord of Phayao, to help him in choosing a site for the new city. Chīengmai became thenceforth the

them equally strong. The weaker among them, realising that they could not hope to succeed in any such endeavour, turned their attention solely to the question of preserving their existence. Even the larger and stronger states were obliged to husband their resources for long in advance, and those which achieved their object were few in number, inasmuch as capable leadership was necessary in addition to material strength. U Thong was probably one of these larger feudatory states, and we may believe that the idea of establishing its independence occurred to the predecessor on the throne of King U Thong Rāmādhipatī. The former monarch, observing the latter to be fitted by reason of his abilities to aid him in this plan, may well have given his daughter to him in marriage on that account My reason for thinking that the idea of independence dated from the predecessor of King U Thong Rāmādhipatī is as follows. When King U Thong founded Ayuddhyā, it was not necessary for him to engage in conflict with any of the neighbouring states; his frontiers extended on the South down through the Malay Peninsula; on the West he was master of Tenasserim and Tavoy; on the North his borders stretched as far as Muang Sarga; whilst on the East they reached to the frontier of the Khmer dominions. For the acquisition of so large a territory as this, a longer period must have been required than the six years during which King U Thong Rāmādhipatī reigned prior to the founding of Ayuddhyā. I believe that that sovereign's predecessor, perceiving that the power of Sukhōdaya was declining irrecoverably, and fearing that the Mons and the people of Chīengmai might design to seize possession of the states lying towards the South, had himself set about uniting those states under his own sway many years before. In any event, after the Mons had regained their independence, U Thong must under the reign of King U Thong Rāmādhipatī's predecessor have at least made some stand against Sukhōdaya.

More than one reason may be adduced to account for the erection of his capital at Ayuddhyā by King U Thong Rāmādhipatī. In the first place the bed of the Chorakhe Sām Phan River was silting up, owing to the fact that the water was seeking a new

channel along the course of the Subarṇa River. (The modern town of Subarṇa is called Bandhumpurī in an old map appearing in the Traibhūmi.) There was thus a growing scarcity of water at U Thong which the digging of many reservoirs did not suffice to alleviate, and which resulted in the outbreak of fevers and finally of a pestilence. King U Thong, being unable to find a remedy for this state of affairs, must have been obliged to abandon the city and to transfer his capital elsewhere, as stated in the story of Subarṇa. A second and a true cause for the transfer of the capital to the site of the ancient city of Ayōddhyā* is assigned in the short history of Prince Paramanujit, namely, the abundant resources of the district in question. But there was a still further reason for the selection of this spot. The land from Ayuddhyā upwards consisted in great part formerly of low and marshy ground near the sea. Travellers by the Northern Railway at the present time, if they take note, will observe at Bān Phra Kaeo a rise in the ground which marks the old sea-coast. Lobpurī, when it was first built, stood upon the sea, and even the city at Phra Pathom and the city of U Thong were not far distant from it at the time of their foundation. But the *detritus* brought down by the volume of water flowing from above caused the sea-bed to silt up, as is happening to-day at the mouth of the River Chao Phyā, where the sea-bed and low-lying mud are being converted into raised land and the channel through which the water flows is gradually becoming the bed of the river. When King U Thong set up his capital at Ayōddhyā, all the principal water-courses of the region met together at that place, which thus derived importance as being situated at the mouth of a river and as being the gateway to the whole of the North from Sukhōdaya up to Chīengmai. In a similar way, Bangkok later on became in its turn the capital of Siam. Owing to the importance which thus again attached to Ayōddhyā as a centre of communication, King U Thong selected the site of that old city for his new capital.

* อโยทธยา — not to be confused with Ayuddhyā (อยุทธยา.) [Translator's note.]

The casual reader of the history of Siam may think that, when King U Thong came to Ayōddhyā, he straightway set about building a city upon the place where Ayuddhyā now stands and that he constructed his palace on the confines of Nong Sanō (i. e. Bŭng Phra Rāma.) As a matter of fact such was not the case. A careful perusal of the history will shew that King U Thong on his first arrival built a small city at the spot which is occupied to-day by the Buddhai Savarya monastery. I gather from the dates appearing in the records of the astrologers that King U Thong first of all set up a city at Wieng Lek (เวียง เหล็ก — where the Buddhai Savarya monastery was afterwards built), in the year of the pig 709 of the Chula era (B. E. 1890), and that he remained there for three years. When he perceived that the time was ripe for an open declaration of independence, he founded the city of Ayuddhyā, performing the rites of accession and proclaiming his assumption of the prerogatives of sovereignty in the year of the tiger (really in that of the hare), being the second of the decade, 712 of the Chula era (B. E. 1893).

(65)

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